

***Travelling to Peru: Representation, Identity
and Place in British Long-haul Tourism***

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on contemporary British travellers visiting Peru. It examines the investments in and uses of long-haul travel in the construction and narration of self-identity, in particular exploring the relationship between representations of place, travel practices and identities. Using literatures based in post-colonial theory and tourism studies, the thesis argues for the contribution which a study of the desires of 'First World' consumers can make to the wider project of understanding and intervening in tourism's socio-economic role in the modern world. The qualitative methodologies used in the thesis reflect the need to conceptualise tourists as actively constructing the 'imaginative geographies' of tourism. The use of both participant observation at tourist sites in Peru, and a series of in-depth interviews with returned travellers, provide an account of the important role of travel in the participants lives and the consequences for their travel practices.

The empirical research undertaken for the thesis shows that travel is an important part of the ongoing construction of an 'autobiography' of the self by the travellers who took part in the project. In particular travel practices are associated with, and used to narrate, a sense of living a fulfilled life. The projects of travel to Peru are based in an 'authorisation' of travel as set of practices which provide 'direct' and 'unmediated' access to spatial difference, such as the 'authentic' Peru. In their material travel practices in Peru, travellers therefore have a very clear sense of the 'proper conduct' which they have to enact on the ground if they are to achieve this sense of fulfilment. The thesis concludes that by understanding the 'fetishisations' of place invested in by travellers, studies of tourist consumption open up new spaces for thinking about and intervening in the politics of travel.

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[T]ourism is not an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition; a framing that has the power to shape culture and nature to its own needs.

(Dean MacCannell, 1992:1)

**"Come fly with me, let's float down to Peru
In lama land, there's a one man band
And he'll toot his flute for you
Come fly with me, we'll float down in the blue."**

(Frank Sinatra, *Come Fly With Me*)

Chapter 1

Introduction: Representation, Identity and the Politics of Travel

1.1 Introduction

This is a thesis about travel. It is about a project which examines travel through the experiences of a number of travellers from Britain, who, during the mid-1990s spent time in Latin America visiting Peru. Focusing on certain British discourses of the Other as they are played out in the institutions and arenas of long-haul travel, the thesis explores the desires and investments placed by a particular group of people in particular ways of relating to the world, and particular modes of mobility. In connecting these desires to the practices of travel as they take place on the ground in travellers' encounters with Peru, the thesis aims to contribute towards a politics of travel, one which is based in an understanding of the role that 'First World' consumption of cultural difference plays in the contemporary cultural, social and economic relationships between the 'North' and Latin America.

This exploration of British travel desires draws on a number of connections between representation, identity and place which have been made in cultural geography and across a variety of disciplinary boundaries in the form of a concern with 'the post-colonial'. The argument of the thesis is that the representations of place used in the spatial imaginations of long-haul travellers are part and parcel of a narration of the self. In other words, travel stories and practices are not just about the far flung places of globalised tourism, they are also about the construction of self-identity, a story about the self, its history and its trajectory. This focus on the representations of place and narrations of self-identity used by travellers leads to an account of the practices of travel as they take place on the ground.

The imaginations of self and place which are at the heart of travel practices (and mediated through the travel industry and state regulation, contested through a variety of local resistances) are enmeshed with the lives and landscapes of those living and working in tourist destinations such as Peru, where travel and tourism are fast becoming a key feature of development plans. In this thesis I am neither celebratory nor dismissive of tourism. Instead, by telling travel stories which are about the pleasures, hopes and anxieties of tourists, I aim to contribute to debates about the possibilities and problems of intervening in 'First World' consumer cultures in ways which acknowledge such pleasures and avoid the academic elitism of many critiques of tourism¹. The closely

¹See Fiske (1989) for discussion of critiques of popular culture.

contextualised understanding of travel, representation and identity needed for such a project demands a methodology which is sensitive to the nuances of travel projects: the hopes, dreams, highs and lows of travellers and travel. The thesis draws on material from participant observation and in-depth interviews with travellers, which, I hope, achieve these aims.

In this chapter I introduce some of the main themes and connections of the thesis. Firstly, I set off on route by presenting a rough guide to the sorts of travellers' tales with which the thesis engages by recounting a short story about tourism. The story also serves as a useful introduction to some of the possibilities and limitations of the contribution to the politics of travel that can be made by focusing on travel discourses. Secondly, using the work of Edward Said, I introduce post-colonialism's concern with representations of place and identity. Thirdly, I provide an introduction to the ways in which this thesis translates the concerns of post-colonialism into the field of contemporary travel.

1.2 'Mrs Turner Cutting the Grass': Carol Shields' travel story

In this section I provide a taste of the sort of travel stories that have emerged from this research project by looking briefly at a short story by the Canadian author Carol Shields. Reading 'Mrs Turner Cutting the Grass' from her collection *Various Miracles* (1995) illustrates some of the connections between the representation of place, identity and the practices of travel, and introduces the possibilities raised by a focus on travel discourse for the politics of travel.

Carol Shields, short-listed for the Booker prize in 1993 and winner of the Pulitzer prize in 1995, tends to develop characters who live 'ordinary', mundane, and unrecognised lives. Her 1995 collection of short stories revolves around 'the various miracles of everyday life'. 'Mrs Turner Cutting the Grass' is about a lower-middle class widow, now in her early sixties, whom we first see through the eyes of her disapproving, 'tasteful' middle class neighbours as she mows the lawn of her small-town, suburban garden. The first half of the story tells about Mrs Turner's eventful early life, where she ran away from home, had various adventures in New York, and returned to settle down with a man in her home town. When her husband dies, Mrs Turner starts travelling with her two sisters. At first they drive to the Deep South, Mexico and Disneyland, but later pluck up courage to fly to Japan on a package tour, where they visit temples and shrines, eat raw fish and go on a Japanese train. One member of their tour group is 'The Professor', an academic who does not take any photographs but scribbles copious notes. The story then follows the Professor back to the US where he publishes a book of poems on Japan. On a reading tour to publicise his book, the Professor is repeatedly asked to read one of his more humorous poems, about three 'midwestern lady tourists' who spent their time at the

temple taking photos and talking loudly about knitting patterns, sore feet and cups of tea. The portrait of "the three witches", who contrast with the Professor's own appreciation of the temple, is cited in the poem as proof that 'sublime beauty' can be brought to the "doorways of human eyes...and remain unperceived" (1995:36).

Shields then returns to Mrs Turner, and the pleasures she gains through travel, which she presents as being every bit as meaningful as the Professor's. "[S]he's reassured, always, by the sameness of the world....In Japan she was happy to see carrots and lettuce growing the fields...Everywhere she's been she's seen people eating and sleeping and working....it's amazing, she thinks, that she can understand so much of the world" (1995:37). In addition, Mrs Turner uses travel to talk to her sisters, and together they spend their time on tour buses reminiscing about their youthful past together. The story ends by returning to the vision of Mrs Turner cutting the grass, pointing out to the reader that it might be worth looking at her with different eyes.

Shields' story can be read as illustrating something of the connections between representations of place and self-identity in the arena of travel, providing a wonderful account of the investments both Mrs Turner and the Professor place in their trip. Despite the "crowded and confusing nature" of Japan, the trip offers the Professor the opportunity to use his powers to construct an authoritative representation of place. The Professor's vision of Japan is of a place which, in its simplicity and spirituality, is sublimely exotic. It threatens to overwhelm the senses with its beauty, an experience that can only be presented through the texture and rhythm of the Professor's poetry. In other words, the Professor is claiming that through his discerning gaze and linguistic competence, Japan can be understood and represented in a meaningful way. This imagination of Japan has consequences for the Professor's travel practices, as he insists on keeping his distance from the group, guards his solitary and personal experience, and prefers to record his representations through the written word rather than indulging in the 'crassness' of the happy holiday snapper. The aim of these representations and practices is for the Professor to develop his identity as a professional poet, and to present his authoritative understanding of the places he has visited through his lecture talks. In this project of self-identity, it is not only Japan that is his Other² but Mrs Turner too, a woman who is neither able to view nor represent the world in ways that make it meaningful. By criticising her travel practices (and hence subjectivity), the Professors 'shores up' his own identity (which, we learn in the story, had been under threat previous to his trip because of writers' block).

²In this thesis the word Other is capitalised to identify it as a particular theoretical term. I have not placed it within inverted commas, a stylistic which I have reserved for words such as 'authentic' where the usual meaning of the word has been questioned within the text.

For Mrs Turner, Japan is also transparent in some ways. It is important to her that Japan can be seen as different in order to feel comforted by the similarities between it and her home. The fact that people eat and sleep in Japan is only amazing *because* it is a different place. In other ways, however, Japan is inaccessible, as Mrs Turner realises she will never learn the difference between Shinto and Buddhism, or even know which direction she is travelling on the bus. Her vision of Japan as 'the same' within difference allows her to sit back and relax and enjoy a time and space in which she can talk to her sisters about their shared history. Mrs Turner uses travel to construct her identity as both *adventurous* through her encounters with difference, but also *ordinary*, part of 'the common people', because of the similarities she finds. Travel gives her a sense of leading an enjoyable and accomplished life, one where she is making the most of the experiences available, and provides her with a renewed sense of living her life to the full following the death of her husband and the loss of identity through her role as a fairly traditional wife.

Reading Carol Shields story in this way illustrates the kinds of investments that both Mrs Turner and the Professor put into travel. For both, the representations of Japan that emerge in their travel stories are closely linked to the kind of self³ they want to narrate to themselves and others. The story also provides a micro-scale example of the links between these representations of place and self, and the travel practices that the two characters enact on the ground. Both Mrs Turner's and the Professor's sense of themselves and their position in the world are constructed through their representations of place and their travel practices. In presenting the biographies of the two travellers, the story shows how a closely contextualising account of travel can give a nuanced account of the desires and investments of travellers. In the next chapter, I follow the argument of feminist geographers who have engaged with the project of post-colonialism by providing a thoughtful account of women's travel writing (Blunt 1994a, Mills 1994), where the case is made for a close textual analysis of travel writing in examining the uses of colonial discourse in the production of both feminine and imperial subjectivities and authorities. 'Mrs Turner Cutting the Grass', then, offers a useful introduction to a detailed understanding of travel and the production of spatial imaginations and identities.

But this use of a biographical narrative in writing about the pleasures and desires of travel also points to some of the possibilities of a politics of travel which focuses on the discourses of travel. Shields' story can be read as a critique of the ways in which travel can be used to gain power and authority over others. The Professor uses travel to produce himself as an authoritative figure who can represent the world in transparent ways, and in so doing closes off the possibilities of relating to places in different ways, namely those used by Mrs Turner. Through presenting a biographical narrative of both characters,

³To be consistent with capitalised version of the word Other, 'self' should strictly speaking be written in a similar way. I have, however, used the lower case where it reads better.

Shields contextualises and positions their desire to travel in their desires to produce new identities. This undermines the authority gained by the Professor from travel, as once we know that he uses travel to shore up his authority, he is brought back down to earth from his 'all-seeing' position. His travel project is as 'worldly' as Mrs Turner's, although at least Mrs Turner recognises some of the limitations of her understanding.

Whilst Carol Shields' story shows some of the ways in which a focus on travel discourse can point towards a politics of travel which illustrates the authority gained by travellers, it also points to some of the limitations of such a focus. Shield's story focuses exclusively on the voices of the travellers. In post-colonialism, accounts of colonial discourse used by the West⁴ in its encounters with Others has been used as a way of *contributing* to a re-thinking of the relationship between the West and its Others. Studies of 'colonial discourse' in post-colonialism have been used as a first step which paves the way towards a recovery of other voices (although the nature of that recovery is contested: see Barnett 1996). An exclusive focus on the discourses of the West that fails to recognise its contribution to this wider project can continue to exclude a politics of tourism as it emerges from places such as Peru, much as in Shields' story we do not hear from anybody who is gazed upon by the Professor and Mrs Turner in Japan⁵. Examining tourist voices is useful when it is seen as a contribution to a wider project of contesting the power of tourism. John Urry's (1990a, 1995) work on the tourist gaze points to the ways in which travel destinations have to adapt themselves into the image of the tourists' desires in order to fit into the international tourist economy. For better or worse, the tourist has a certain degree of power over the futures of the lives and landscapes of those living and working in tourist regions. It is in contributing to the contestation of this power that this thesis presents the imaginative geographies of travellers.

1.3 Representing Place and Identity: Edward Said's post-colonial projects
Ideas from post-colonialism play a key role in this thesis, as I use post-colonial theory to suggest ways in which the discourses of travel might be theorised, researched and contested. Using the work of Edward Said (1978, 1993), in this section I introduce some of the aims of post-colonialism, and look at the potential for a study of travel which both draws from and contributes towards the post-colonial project. Said's work is useful in that it offers a conceptualisation of the link between representations of place and identity that I made through reading Carol Shields in the previous section. He also emphasises the power held by these representations of place and identity as they are used in 'colonial

⁴Throughout this thesis I use words such as 'West', 'South' and 'Third World' as short-hand terms to describe global geographies which are far obviously more complex than the words suggest. Such terms appear where they are useful within specific contexts of the thesis.

⁵This is not to criticise Carol Shields, but merely to point out that although her story is useful in setting some of the themes of the thesis, it is not a template for the politics of tourism set out here.

discourse'. Said's work points in two directions, which have become the cornerstones of the diverse post-colonial project: an undermining of colonial discourse, and the development of new forms of representation by those disempowered by the colonial process. Crucially, Said has provided a starting point for thinking about the importance of cultural representations as a field of inquiry throughout the humanities and social sciences, such that Williams and Chrisman (1993:5) feel able to claim that "[i]t is perhaps no exaggeration to say that Edward Said's *Orientalism*, published in 1978, single-handedly inaugurates a new era of academic enquiry: colonial discourse". *Orientalism* opened up a new arena where the analysis of language and cultural meaning became as important a conduit for discussions of the relationship between the 'First' and 'Third' Worlds as economics had been in the era of the modernisation theory (Rostow 1960, Frank 1966). Whilst the themes and issues which have been labelled 'post-colonial' can be read in many earlier texts, and indeed other 'founding fathers' have been claimed⁶, Said's work has for better or worse been central to the agenda of the multidisciplinary project of post-colonialism. In the next chapter, I look at some criticisms of Said's project which have been important to cultural and feminist geography's engagements with post-colonialism, criticisms that are important in conceptualising the role tourists play in places such as Peru. But, for now, *Orientalism* provides a useful way in to discussions of representation, identity and place.

The novelty of Said's work was that it took seriously the role played by language in the project of European imperial domination. Said allies himself with a (now familiar) line of inquiry on the ways in which language can be used to make the world appear in the form of an immediately present and truthful picture. In his work on *Orientalism* he argues:

"language itself is a highly organised and encoded system, which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information, represent, and so forth....[T]here is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a *re-presence*, or a representation. The value, efficacy, strength, apparent veracity of a written statement about the Orient therefore relies very little, and cannot instrumentally depend, on the Orient as such. On the contrary, the written statement is a presence to the reader by virtue of its having excluded, displaced, made superogatory any such *real thing* as 'the Orient'....[T]hat *Orientalism* makes sense at all depends more on the West than on the Orient, and this sense is directly indebted to various Western techniques of representation that make the Orient visible, clear, 'there' in discourse about it. And these representations rely upon institutions, traditions, conventions, agreed-upon codes of understanding for their effects..." (1978:21-2, italics in original)

Communication is not a mirror image of the material world: ideas about the Orient are garnered from the weight of historical discourse about the region, circulated through a

⁶For example, authors such as Frantz Fanon and C.L.R. James: see Williams and Chrisman (1993) and Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1995). In the context of Latin America, see discussion about post-colonialism sparked off by Seed (1991, 1993). Adorno (1993) and Mignolo (1993) suggest that a number of writers have challenged the authority of Western representations including Edmundo O'Gorman (1952), Antonio Cândido (1959, 1973), Angel Rama (1982, 1984) and Roberto Schwarz (1990).

variety of different texts which each reuses and repeats representations which have preceded them. Orientalism, as a discourse, produces a grid of meaning so that:

"no one writing, thinking or acting on the Orient could do [so] without taking account of the limitations of thought and action imposed by Orientalism. In brief, because of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action" (ibid:3).

Said's project in *Orientalism* was therefore to trace the "thought, imagery and vocabulary that have given it [the Orient] reality and presence in the West" (ibid:5). The point of this task is to establish the role that cultural production played in the West's domination of its imperial Other. Said's argument is that the West's claim to be able to represent the East in an authoritative and absolute sense was linked to the power the West held over the East to be able to refashion it into the image of 'the Orient'. Said, therefore, makes a link between representation (or 'knowledge') and power. The link is both material and symbolic: the West felt able to represent the Orient in an authoritative way because of the ability of travel writers, academics, novelists, politicians and civil servants to go to the East. And, in turn, these representations fashioned the very idea that the West knew what was best for the East, and therefore had a right to dictate its future through imperialism. Orientalism, during the colonial era and beyond, strengthened into a durable and effective discourse, where 'knowing' the reality of the Orient combined with the power to shape materially the Orient into an image of that 'knowledge'.

There are two important arguments I want to draw out of Said's account. The first is to do with the spatiality of representations of the Orient. Said argues that the language of Orientalism produces spatial borders which position 'there' as different from 'here', in ways that make that difference knowable and understandable from 'here'. At the heart of Orientalist discourse lies "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (ibid:2). Drawing on Gaston Bachelard (1964), Said argues that such spatial distinctions become infused with meaning and endowed with qualities, "dramatising" the differences between that which is close to and that which is far away. Throughout his book, Said works through the 'imaginative geographies' of Europe and its Others to reveal the ways in which arbitrary spatial borders take on significance in the eyes of the West.

The second argument is that this spatial imagination is used in the construction of collective and personal identity. In an abstract sense, Said argues that spatial divisions between 'here' and 'there' are also divisions between 'their' space and 'our' space, and therefore between 'us' and 'them'. Borders provide the basis for the elaboration of a whole set of social differences, so that, for example, "the fifth century Athenian was very likely to feel himself [sic.] to be non-Barbarian as much as he positively felt himself to be

Athenian" (ibid:54). As far as Orientalism is concerned, Said writes about the production of selfhood in two linked senses. Firstly, Orientalism was central to the construction of a European identity, one which reiterated the superiority of European culture over Oriental culture. Secondly, the imaginative geographies of Orientalism produced specific subjectivities through their authors use and repetition of representations. Said identifies two ways in which authoritative subjectivities are presented through the text: through the strategic location of the author as he or she position themselves in relation to the Other, and in the strategic formations the author uses to draw on the authority of preceding texts. Authors are involved in locating themselves in such a way as to 'shore up' their representations in the face of the sheer ultimate unknowability of the Other (ibid:20). Authors, therefore, have an interest in the claims made through certain modes of representation, and the pleasures of writing involve the pleasures (and the concomitant anxieties) of producing authoritative identities.

Following Said, two significant academic projects have emerged in the last decade to form 'post-colonialism' (Williams and Chrisman 1993, Blunt and Rose 1994, Crush 1994). The first continues with Said's project of analysing the texts of colonial discourse to point out the ways in which representations are produced as part of a process which is situated in specific social relations, in which claims to knowledge are produced through the poetics of the text rather than through their actual mimetic reflection of an exterior world. Such a project seeks not only to undermine the authority of the texts themselves, but also to uncover the complicity, indeed the necessity, of certain texts, tropes, genres, knowledges, identities and institutions in the histories of colonial and imperial domination.

The second academic project, which in some ways emerges from the first, is to use the undermining of the authoritative claims of colonial discourse to develop new forms of cultural communication that avoid both the discursive and material domination of the Other. Colonial discourse is based in subject positions and textual strategies which claim to transcend their own positionality. Post-colonialism looks for ways of dealing with the world which challenge the power of transcendental representations, yet still provide an effective political voice. In particular, post-colonialism recognises that in the claims of colonial discourses to 'know' the world, other ways of relating to the world have been hidden from public discourse, a process that has been labelled 'epistemic violence' (see Blunt and Rose 1994). Currently there are a number of highly charged debates about the silencing of the voices of those whose histories, languages, cultural identities and ways of life have been dominated by imperialism and colonial discourse, and about the ways in which those voices might be articulated and heard (see Slater 1992, Barnett 1996).

In this section, I have used the work of Edward Said to introduce the links between representations of place and identity, and to suggest that the study of Western discourses is only useful within a context where it contributes to a wider re-imagination of the sphere of politics. With this point in mind, in the next section I will suggest that a study of travel discourses can play an important role in the project of post-colonialism, and I will begin to explore some of the potential links between a study of contemporary British travellers, and the analysis of colonial discourse.

1.4 Travel Stories, the Post-Colonial Project and Popular Knowledges

One of the most overworked and unsupported criticism of international tourism is to describe it as 'neo-imperialistic'. Clearly such analogies can be politically stirring, but my aim is not to develop an account of contemporary travel as part of a new Scramble for Africa or any other part of the 'pleasure periphery'. Instead I want to draw out what I regard as significant parallels between the post-colonial project of colonial discourse analysis, and research from contemporary cultural studies into travellers, particularly that associated with the ideas of John Urry (1990a, 1995). It is this fruitful terrain that provides the basis for the research in this thesis. Both strands of work are part of an attempt to rethink the relationship between the West and its Others, although contemporary tourism is, of course, very different from the colonial era in terms of its institutions, relationships and goals.

To begin the comparison: the study of colonial discourse is legitimated as part of the post-colonial project in two ways. Firstly, the analysis of colonial discourse is central to an understanding of the role of representations in the material politics of place, including the authorisation of plans for places and people. Secondly, colonial discourse analysis is part of a larger post-colonial project where the undermining of the authority of colonial discourse is part of the process of 'de-colonisation', opening a space where previously unheard voices and representations are articulated. The parallels in terms of understanding contemporary travel discourse are firstly, to understand its role in the constitution of space and place at the level of representations and material practices. Secondly, it is to think about how these representations might empower people differently, and the ways in which that power might be contested. Thus a vital question for colonial discourse theory and, consequently, any parallel project in the field of tourism, is how to interpret the links between representations and material practices on the ground. For example, accounts of colonial discourse have identified a number of different ways in which colonial texts have played a part in the material practices of imperialism from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century (for example Hulme 1986, M.-L. Pratt 1992). At its most abstract, Said's (1978) argument (using Gramsci's notion of hegemony) is that texts act to legitimate imperialism. Seemingly 'non-political' texts such as novels or travel books could actually be crucial in

the circulation of the imaginative geographies of imperialism. But more than this, and not least within the discipline of geography, a new historiography has identified the concrete connections between colonial discourse and imperial practices of domination in the surveys and writings of colonial administration (see Driver 1992, 1995).

As far as travel is concerned, one initial starting point is in theorisations of the power of the gaze. John Urry (1990a) uses Michel Foucault's account of the medical gaze as a metaphor to conceptualise the ways in which the tourist is involved in a 'disciplining' of place into the image of the tourists' desire. The power of travellers is that, as consumers of place, their desires are mediated by a group of tourism professionals into the lives and landscapes of those living and working in tourist regions. Both human and land resources must be managed as places and people have to adapt themselves to meet the desires of the gaze in order to play any part in the tourist economy (although both the centrality of the gaze to tourism and the role the 'object' of the gaze plays in this process are contested: see Veijola and Jokinen 1994, Evans-Pritchard 1989).

It is noteworthy that the metaphor of the gaze has also recently emerged in writing on the development project in Latin America, where the discourses of development are seen as disciplining the continent into the desires of the 'First World' through the mediation of institutions such as the World Bank and the United Nations (Esteva 1987, Escobar 1992a, 1992b), although here too this metaphor is contested (see Watts 1993, Corbridge 1993). Given the economic and political importance of international tourism in developing countries, the power of the traveller, mediated through the institutions of the development project and the tourist industry is of considerable significance. As I will show in Chapter 4, within Peru tourism has been targeted as a major industrial sector in president Alberto Fujimori's development plans. Wholesale restructuring of the relationship between the private and public sector has occurred in the last five years, to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the tourist industry. The number of international arrivals in Peru more than trebled between 1993 and 1996, redressing several years of decline caused in part by fear of *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path, the Peruvian Maoist movement) terrorism. In popular tourist places such as Cusco, tourism is the mainstay of the economy. Tourism schools in Lima and Cusco are involved in producing a new generation of tourist professionals, trained in the reflexive techniques of producing customer feedback, and implementing efficient management plans that render the tourist-as-consumer ever more powerful in shaping the day-to-day, material lives of Peruvians throughout the country, whether through their inclusion in or their exclusion from the institutions of tourism. The desires of the 'First World' consumers are deeply embedded in the socio-economic formations of Peruvian development.

There are, then, exciting theoretical possibilities in linking post-colonial studies with those on contemporary tourism, because of the parallels in connecting the representation of place with social, cultural and economic practices on the ground. These parallels raise the possibility that exploring the investments made in particular imaginative geographies by travellers can contribute to an understanding of the material geographies of development in growing tourist economies such as Peru. The research presented in this thesis is based in these possibilities. It contributes to and complements the many studies within tourism which have concentrated on the 'impacts' of tourism (see for example Lea 1988, Urry 1990a, 1995, Pearce 1991, Harrison 1992, Schluter 1993, Cone 1995) by focusing on tourist consumption, exploring the ways in which individuals from Britain invest in the geographies and institutions of travel which have so much power throughout the world. This focus on tourist consumption means understanding the traveller as an individual who is an active agent in making meaning for the places and products offered by the travel industry. It means asking questions about why tourists feel so excited about their relationship with the world, with certain places, experiences, practices and institutions.

Methodologically speaking, in exploring these questions I have moved away from work in post-colonialism which has been largely historical and textual. Whilst such work is obviously extremely valuable, in studying contemporary travel I have drawn on approaches from media studies and media geography on 'consumers'. Work with audiences and the cultural processes through which meaning is made amongst consumers is now well established both theoretically and methodologically (for example Morley 1980, 1992, Fiske 1987, Ang 1991). Such work has been developed within cultural geography by Jacquelin Burgess (1990, Burgess and Wood 1988, Burgess, Goldsmith and Harrison 1990, Burgess, Harrison and Maitney 1991). Media geography has been prepared to deal with popular geographies and geographical knowledges, not in order to claim them uncritically for the discipline of geography (see Domosh 1991a, 1991b, Blunt and Rose 1994), but as a legitimate subject in their own right (Driver 1992). Geographical knowledges are mediated through expert institutions (Giddens 1991, Lash and Urry 1994) such as the travel industry, but consumers are conceptualised as making multiple and strategic uses of knowledges and practices across a wide range of contexts and spaces. The methodologies developed through this sort of work have recently begun to be incorporated into research in other areas, for example both Shelagh Squire (1994) and Jon May (1996) have used in-depth qualitative research to explore aspects of tourism consumption.

This is a thesis, then, which stresses the importance of listening to 'ordinary voices', to 'ordinary' sentiments of pleasure, anxiety, hope, ambition and disappointment. What relationship do travellers want with their Others? What experiences do they think travel can offer? Why is travel important to them? What personal investments do they place in

their travel practices? How do these investments translate into the formation of travel as a social, economic and cultural sphere of activity? An account of the extremely personal and local feelings of travellers is central to understanding tourism's role in the contemporary world, as a powerful mediator in global development plans and in the lives and landscapes of literally millions of people throughout the world. My focus on the investments in, and desires for, travel to Peru on the part of British tourists therefore parallels the study of colonial discourse in that it opens up an arena for thinking about the power of representations of the Other in the material constitution of spaces and places, but I explore these issues through listening to the voices of consumers. It is this focus which I hope will contribute to a politics of tourism that raises the possibility of rethinking the future of travel practices and tourist spaces. It is with the politics of consumption and the possibility of interventions in travel culture which address the distribution of 'goods' produced by travel, that this thesis concludes.

This chapter has set out briefly set out why I think it is important to research travellers' investments in representations of place. Chapter 2 conceptualises the use of representations of the Other in the construction of self identity within the arena of travel, drawing on three main literatures: tourism studies, post-colonialism, and its feminist critics. The chapter concludes that a close and careful attention the contexts of both travel discourses and practices is central to any study of travellers. Chapter 3 looks at the methodologies that can be used to achieve this aim. Whilst tourism studies and post-colonialism have frequently relied on textual analysis, an understanding of tourists demands attention to other forms of representation, particularly in travel stories and practices. The chapter sets out the case for using both participant observation and in-depth interviews as methodologies which engage with the uses of travel. Chapter 4 provides background information on the contexts of the travellers who took part in the research project, outlining the institutional contexts through which they visited Peru (in the form of the travel industry in both Britain and Peru), and the personal backgrounds of the people I interviewed.

Chapter 5 is the first empirical chapter, and looks broadly at the uses of travel in the construction of identity. The chapter argues that individuals will often use travel to answer questions about future self-identity, and that travel is particularly linked to senses of self-fulfilment. The connections between travel and self-identity are, however, carefully managed by travellers in the public sphere, as the meaning of travel is open to contestation. Chapter 6 looks at the spatiality of travel. Using issues of authenticity as a case study, it argues that it is not just the content of spatial representations of Peru which are important to travellers, but the authorisation of certain practices of 'border crossing' which provide an 'unmediated' version of the Other. Chapter 7 looks at the practices of travel, arguing that the investment in representations of the relationship between self and

place means that travel practices are bounded by a sense of 'proper conduct' in terms of uses of the body and relationships with Others. Finally, Chapter 8 draws out the conclusions of the thesis. The chapter looks at the desires and investments placed by travellers in their trip to Peru, and suggests ways in which this account could be used in a politics of tourism.

Chapter 2

Touring the Travel Circuit: Narratives of Self, Place and Displacement

2.1 Introduction

The relationship between the West and its Others is a major concern of both post-colonialism and tourism studies. It is also an arena of theory which has become contested in recent years. In particular, accounts such as Edward Said's have come under criticism from a number of directions for the monolithic relationship they present between the West and its Others. New accounts of imperialism have focused on 'the local', emphasising diversity in imperial relationships, and problematising some of the binary oppositions between self and Other, West and East, Europe and Orient which have been developed by Said (1978, 1993). Feminist work on travel writing has provided a rich source for rethinking colonial relationships. Such work suggests that there are a number of new 'stories' about the relationship between various 'Westes' and their 'Others', stories which are ultimately used to develop a new politics of the post-colonial. In this chapter, I argue that there are parallels between Edward Said's imperial gaze and John Urry's tourist gaze (both share a common ancestry in the work of Michel Foucault), and therefore that these criticisms of Said's work may usefully be translated into the arena of contemporary travel. New versions of colonial discourse theory suggest that empirical accounts of the specificity of imperial relationships should be developed. In this chapter, I argue for an empirical project on the local specificity of tourism consumption in Peru, a project which in the conclusion of this thesis is used to contribute to a rethinking of tourism politics.

The chapter starts with an account of 'the tourist' as s/he has been represented in tourism studies, particularly in Urry's influential account of the tourist gaze. Secondly, I look at the development of post-colonialism within cultural geography, and the challenges to work such as Said's made by feminist geographers: a monolithic narrative of Self/Other which often ignores the histories of imperialism and colonialism in everyday life. This second section explores earlier versions of geography's engagement with post-colonialism; feminist geography's engagement with post-colonialism through work on women imperial travellers; and feminist critiques of metaphors of travel in social theory. These feminist literatures suggest the need for an empirically grounded account of travel. Finally, I 'translate' these concerns into the arena of contemporary long-haul travel to Peru, using them to argue for the importance of an empirical account of tourist consumption.

2.2 Gazing on the Other: tourism studies and Orientalism

In this section I introduce 'the tourist' of tourism studies. The section begins with a brief history of the ways in which tourism studies has conceptualised 'the tourist', from its inception through to the seminal work of John Urry (1990a, 1990b, 1992a, 1992b, 1995). The second half of the section looks at parallels between tourism studies and Said's work on Orientalism (1978, 1993), arguing that there are close links, especially in their conceptualisations of the relationship between the Self and the Other, and their resultant politics. The discussion is followed by a section (2.3) which reviews recent challenges to Said, and by implication, to tourism studies.

2.2.1 A Brief History of Tourism Studies

The history of tourism studies is important to the ways in which the tourist and the politics of tourism have been developed in recent work surrounding the tourist gaze. Tourism studies generally traces itself back to Dean MacCannell's book *The Tourist*, first published in 1976 (see for example Culler 1988, Frow 1991). MacCannell's investigation of tourism is based on the theory that 'the tourist' represents the archetypal figure of modernity. As an anthropologist of modernity, MacCannell argues that an understanding of the structure of the tourist mind should lead to an understanding of the structure of modernity, almost as the study of myth had led Levi-Strauss to the primitive mind (MacCannell 1989:1, Levi-Strauss 1968)¹. MacCannell argues that tourism is based upon a desire to escape the fragmentation and alienation of modern living by seeking to 'locate' oneself through an encounter with Others who are imagined as pre-modern. The desire of the tourist is, then, to overcome the disorientation of modernity by discovering an 'authentic domain of being', from where modernity can be 'mapped'. In making this argument, MacCannell counters a familiar critique of tourism (see Boorstin 1964, Turner and Ash 1975, Fussell 1980) which argues that tourists are duped into believing that the 'pseudo-events' offered by the tourist industry provide an authentic encounter with other cultures, a possibility which can only be achieved by true 'travellers'. For MacCannell, all tourists are interested in the search for the authentic.

MacCannell's main point, however, is that tourists are bound to be frustrated in their search for authenticity because of the very structure of tourism. There are two reasons why the search for authenticity in itself produces inauthentic experiences. Firstly, MacCannell argues that those living in tourist areas present a 'staged authenticity' to tourists. For tourists, the authentic is that which is not contrived or constructed deliberately for them, so that events and spaces which are part of the tourist economy cannot be part of the authentic. MacCannell's argues (based on the work of Goffman 1959) that tourists spatialise the authentic and inauthentic into an 'inauthentic front stage'

¹For a recent discussion and criticism of MacCannell's location in the use of travel as a metaphor in social theory, see Caren Kaplan (1996:57-64). Although I do not expand on MacCannell's argument at this point, I discuss some of the uses of this metaphor later in the chapter.

and an 'authentic back stage', a private domain which tourists desire because it represents the uncontrived face of the Other. MacCannell argues that those living in tourist regions prevent this intrusion on their privacy by presenting a 'staged authenticity', constructing spaces which give the illusion of being 'backstage' but are in fact 'frontstage'.

The second reason for tourists' frustration is that, for a place to become a tourist site, it has to be marked as exceptional. MacCannell points to literal markers, such as Blue Plaques on houses in London which mark particular houses as being special because of their links to famous people. Markers are also textual, such as guide books which present certain places as unique and exceptional. The marker, or signifier, produces the site, or signified, from an undifferentiated whole. The problem is that the marker itself takes away authenticity from the site because it has been produced for the tourist. As Jonathan Culler remarks:

"The paradox, the dilemma of authenticity, is that to be experienced as authentic it must be marked as authentic, but when it is marked as authentic it is mediated, a sign of itself and hence not authentic in the sense of unspoiled" (1988:137).

Following MacCannell's seminal work, tourism studies has developed two separate but interwoven concerns with authenticity and semiotics. The first strand looks at the role tourism has played amongst 'host cultures'. Because of anthropology's representation of tourism as a harbinger of modernity, notions of authenticity have been used to critique the 'impact' of tourism (Selwyn 1994). For example, Greenwood (1989) criticises the role of tourism in the commoditisation of a 'traditional' religious procession in a Basque country town (for further and more recent examples see Boyton 1986, Weightman 1987, Cohen 1988, Brunner 1991, and Littrell, Anderson and Brown 1993). The second strand of tourism studies deals with the semiotics of tourism. Both MacCannell and Culler see the tourist as a semiotician, constructing qualities of difference for tourist sites through their readings of markers. As Culler puts it:

"All over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs." (1988:155).

However for Culler this means that critiques of tourism which rely on a notion of authenticity as an intrinsic to objects are brought into question. Authenticity is a socially constructed quality which is 'read into' sites.

The fact that MacCannell's book can be used in tourism studies as both a critique of tourism by reference to authenticity, and as a critique of the notion of authenticity, stems from a paradox within *The Tourist* itself. John Frow (1991) argues that for MacCannell, the semiotic relationship between the signifying marker and the signified site means that

authenticity is a cultural construct. However in his discussion of 'staged authenticity', MacCannell posits a historical process whereby cultures present a 'front stage' show for tourists in order to preserve the 'back stage' for themselves, with the implication that the 'back stage' really used to exist in the past but has now been pushed back by tourists. For Frow and Culler, notions of the authentic as a concrete fact, and the resulting elitist criticisms of tourism, should be replaced by the study of the process of reading authenticity into sites. Frow describes this as

"a move...from the issue of authenticity to that of authentication, [which] leaves open the question of criteria according to which authentication and differentiation might occur. This is a question about the practices by which limits and discriminations are set, and about the relativized systems of value which enable them." (1991:131)

The task of tourism studies, as far as understanding tourist experiences is concerned, becomes one of tracing the different ways in which experiences and places are 'authenticated' (i.e. constructed as 'authentic') by different people at different times. Recent research, in particular from geography, has elaborated on issues of authentication in a number of different arenas (see also McDonald 1987). Jane Jacobs (1995) briefly examines the contested versions of authenticity at work in an aboriginal art site near Brisbane, George Hughes (1995) recounts the uses of authenticity in the marketing of Scottish food, and Michael Crang examines authentication in the heritage industry (1996). Dealing specifically with tourism, issues of authenticity also play a central role in studies of tourist consumption carried out by Shelagh Squire (1994) and Jon May (1996), work to which I will return shortly.

It is from this history of tourism studies, especially an understanding that the object of tourism is historically and socially contingent, that John Urry has developed the concept of the tourist gaze. Urry argues that Foucault's work on the historical development of the medical gaze can assist understanding of tourist experiences (1990a). Just as the professionalisation of medicine meant the development of an institutionally organised gaze which picked out "colours, variations, tiny anomalies" (Foucault 1976, quoted Urry 1990:1), so tourism is about the organisation of a gaze where scenes are made meaningful in terms of their extraordinariness, their difference and their Otherness. For Urry, the objects which we deem as worthy of our touristic gaze are those which we imagine as different from everyday life, and it is through the construction and reading of a system of markers of difference that the object of tourism is constructed. Urry's task, then, is to trace the ways in which different societies, social groupings and historical periods have constructed and reinforced the tourist gaze, and the consequences this has for its objects (1992a, 1992b, 1995).

Urry goes on to develop two versions of the tourist gaze which he presents as powerful currents in constituting tourist consumption (1990a:45). The first is the *romantic tourist*

gaze, one where the binary opposition between the everyday and the extraordinary is based on a series of oppositions between the urban and the rural, the modern and the pre-modern, the authentic and the inauthentic and, most importantly, between the human and the natural. The object of the romantic gaze is the rural landscape, preferably one which can be imagined as 'untouched' by human hands so that the viewer can feel as though the usual barriers between people and nature are washed away. The second is the *collective tourist gaze*, where a sense of carnivalesque reigns. Such places include seaside resorts, where a reading of the beach as a liminal zone between nature and culture means that everyday social rules can be overturned in a collective concern with sociability, the body and sexuality (see Shields 1991, Bennett 1983, 1986, Thompson 1983). The pleasures of the collective gaze lie in bonds with people rather than with nature (Urry 1990a:46; 1995:138-9). In theorising the collective gaze, Urry draws on a less well developed strand of tourism studies which uses a metaphor of pilgrimage to understand tourism (Graburn 1989, Gottlieb 1982, Lett 1983). In pilgrimage, the end result was an inversion of the norms of everyday life, an experience of the sacred or of intense human bonding. Spaces which can be read as liminal offer similar opportunities for inverting the everyday rules. It is through an incorporation of liminality into the tourist gaze that Urry develops the difference between the collective and romantic gazes.

2.2.2 Tourism Studies and Orientalism: Selves, Others, power and politics

The main concern of tourism studies has been to develop an understanding of both 'the tourist', and the impact of tourism on the landscapes and lived cultures of tourist regions (see Selwyn 1994 for review). From such work it is possible to conceptualise the pleasures 'the tourist' gains through their relationship with the Other, and to think about the politics of such a relationship. In pursuing this line of thought, it is worth pointing out three parallels between the literatures of tourism studies and the work of Said: firstly, in the relationship between the Self and the Other; secondly in the power of the gaze; and thirdly in the politics of the gaze.

Both Said and Urry are interested in writing about the tourist and imperial gaze through the broad sweep of history and society. Both emphasise the continuity and coherence in the gaze across space and time. This is not to say that both authors fail to recognise differences amongst imperial and tourist discourse, but that differences tend to be drawn together into a whole. Said, for example, stresses the need to understand the differences between German, French and British Orientalism, and is careful to place representations within the context of institutions through which they are mediated. Nevertheless, he claims a unity whereby: "*This Orientalism can accommodate Aechylus, say, and Victor Hugo, Dante and Karl Marx*" (Said 1978:3; emphasis in original). And indeed it can accommodate far more. Said's breathtaking scope stretches from the poetry of Ancient Greece to twentieth century American foreign policy.

Urry's account of the tourist gaze does not quite make the same claims. Urry locates tourism as a modern phenomenon, and represents it as both historically transitional and socially diverse. It is historically transitional in the sense that the tourist gaze is closely and dialectically linked to social, economic and technological changes: for example, the growth of Blackpool as a resort which catered for the collective gaze was part and parcel of the inauguration of a relatively well-paid, working-class elite, a reorganisation of the workplace to allow holidays, and the development of the railway (1990:19). The gaze is socially diverse in that different social groups have constructed different versions of the everyday and the extraordinary. However, despite the diversity suggested by Urry in associating the romantic gaze with the middle classes, and linking the collective gaze to the working classes, nevertheless there is a great deal of continuity in these gazes. For example, Urry suggests that to understand the contemporary romantic gaze and the desire for new tourist destinations in the 'unspoilt' 'Third World', we should turn to the 'ways of seeing' developed by the romantic poets in the Lake District in the nineteenth century (1995:193-210, see also Adler 1989, Ousby 1990). Likewise, the collective gaze is situated in a tradition which stretches back to the village festivals of the early modern era. In other words, Urry too seeks to draw together a historically diverse set of practices into a whole.

In theorising the gaze in this way, Said's and tourism studies' accounts of power are similar. The power of the gaze is that projections of the Other are lived as reality, informing the practices of empire on the one hand, and tourism on the other. Just as Said talks about the Orient being Orientalised, so Urry talks about tourist sites being 'touristified'. For Urry, as manufacturing industries have given way to a new 'economy of signs' (Lash and Urry 1994) in which images become as important as tangible goods in regional economic development, the tourist gaze is becoming ever more powerful in the contemporary world in shaping the lives and landscapes of those who rely on tourism for a living. The tourist gaze has the power to change people and places such as: 'Third World' countries which increasingly depend on tourism as a development strategy (Urry 1990:64, Lea 1988, Harrison 1992, see Chant 1992, Schluter 1993 for introduction to tourism in Latin America, see also Chapter 4); urban landscapes of Britain where a variety of forms of 'postmodern' architecture are part of economic development strategies which rely on emphasising vernacular difference in order to attract both tourists and a business community increasingly interested in images (Urry 1990a:112-128; see also Burgess and Wood 1988, Kearns and Philo 1993); to the British countryside where the tourist gaze requires the removal of signs of modernity (Urry 1990a, 1995; see Walsh 1992 for an account of the heritage industry). Although Urry does not explicitly argue that such power is necessarily a bad thing, his work quotes a variety of writers who bemoan the spread of

the tourist gaze as producing 'homogenous difference' (see, for example, Urry's account of urban renewal, 1990a:127).

The parallels between tourism studies' and Said's theorisations can be illustrated through two brief case studies. The first, a short chapter by Dean MacCannell (1992; see also 1984) is about the town of Locke, California. Although MacCannell's recent work on tourism cannot be entirely subsumed within Urry's tourist gaze, the logic of his argument about Locke provides a good case study of the power of the tourist gaze, indeed a welcome case study for such empirical studies are largely absent from Urry's work (although see Crawshaw and Urry 1997). Locke is a rural settlement, established in the nineteenth century to house a community of Chinese labourers working on a large agricultural estate. Because the town was laid out in one corner of the estate, the land of the town continued to be owned by the landlord whilst the labourers owned the built structures of the town. This unusual arrangement meant that in 1977 a Hong Kong businessman was able to offer a bid for the whole town, with a view to converting it into a 'living museum' of Chinese culture. Although the aim of the museum was to celebrate the achievements of Chinese immigrants in the U.S.A., MacCannell argues that in effect the town would become 'frozen' as a representation of 'Chinese-ness'. The town would be unable to "evolve naturally" because:

"[the] group members begin to think of themselves not as people but as *representatives* of an authentic way of life. Suddenly, any change in lifestyle is no mere question of practical utility but a weighty matter which has considerable economic and political implications for the entire group" (1992:178, emphasis in original).

MacCannell goes on to argue that "[c]onforming to the requirements of being a living tourist attraction becomes a total problem affecting every detail of life" (1992:179). MacCannell reports that in 1992 the scheme had not actually gone ahead, in part thanks to an effective local campaign against the purchase.

The second case study is from *Orientalism*, where Said writes about Gustave Flaubert's encounter with Kuchuk Hanem, a famous Egyptian dancer who Flaubert describes in terms of the 'exotic erotic', a 'typical' Oriental woman who has "learned sensuality", who places no demands on Flaubert, who is self-sufficient, emotionally careless and sexually available. Said describes a persistent association between the East and sexual freedom in the minds of western writers, where

"[Oriental] women are usually the creatures of a male power-fantasy. They expressed unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing. Flaubert's Kuchuk Hanem is the prototype of such caricatures....Moreover the male conception of the world, in its effects upon the practising Orientalist, tends to be static, frozen, fixed eternally. The very possibility of development, transformation, human movement - in the deepest sense of the word - is denied the Orient and the Oriental" (1978:208).

In other words the male encounter with the Orient is one where male fantasies are projected onto and 'freeze' the Other in time (see Maxwell 1993 for discussion).

For both Said and MacCannell, the political effect of the powerful gaze is to 'fix' the Other, either as 'authentic' or as 'Oriental', in ways in which the Other has no choice. The complexities of history and difference are reduced to an unchanging sameness, and the voices of the Other are silenced. For MacCannell, the voices of Locke are silenced as soon as they try to articulate positions which go outside the image of the 'authentic' Chinese community. MacCannell's argument is that communities must necessarily involve themselves in a process of debate, discussion, and an airing of conflicts, if they are to grow and prosper. Living as a tourist attraction means that the possibilities of voicing difference on terms other than those required by tourism is made impossible. Although Urry does not draw upon specific case studies (and silencing is probably not a word he would use), he nevertheless uses the metaphor of colonialism to describe the ways in which the tourist gaze invades communities and circumscribes discussions about the future of places and people (1995:190). For Said, the case of Kuchuk Hanem is a classic example of the silencing of the Other that Orientalism enacts. Said uses Flaubert's story about Hanem as an archetypal example of the ways in which Orientalism claims to 'know' its Other, effectively drowning out 'their' voices.

"There is very little consent to be found, for example, in the fact that Flaubert's encounter with an Egyptian courtesan produced a widely influential model of the Oriental woman; she never spoke of herself, she never represented her emotions, presence, or history. *He* spoke for and represented her. He was foreign, comparatively wealthy, male, and these were the historical facts of domination that allowed him not only to possess Kuchuk Hanem physically but to speak for her and tell his readers in what way she was 'typically Oriental'. My argument is that Flaubert's situation of strength in relation to Kuchuk Hanem was not an isolated instance. It fairly stands for the pattern of relative strength between East and West..." (1978:6, emphasis in original).

As Said and MacCannell identify the power of the gaze in the silencing of Others, so their political strategies follow parallel courses. For Said, one political strategy in the face of this silencing is to dispute the representations used by the West. He does so not only through academic writing but also by challenging the stereotypes of the 'the Arab' in contemporary use throughout the American media and governmental establishments, and indeed Said takes great pains and pleasures as a political activist in taking on the role of "representation-buster" (Rushdie 1991, quoted in Kasbarian 1996:547). Urry has a different relationship with the representations used by the tourist gaze. His work is largely an attempt to describe and analyse the role of the tourist gaze in contemporary socio-economic formations and, on the whole, he refrains from criticisms of the power of the gaze. Often, where his work does seem to be on the verge of critique, he emphasises the apparent unstoppable nature of the 'colonising' scope of the tourist gaze. For example, in discussing tourism and development, he states that countries have very little alternative

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but to develop their attractiveness to the tourist gaze (1990a:65), and in discussing the scope of the gaze in British cities he makes a similar point in relation to municipal authorities' desire to encourage tourists to their towns (1990a:112-120). Where Urry does seem to engage politically is in legitimating populist tourist discourses in the face of elitism, stressing that the desire for the collective gaze, no matter how 'vulgar' it appears to those interested in the romantic gaze, must be given weight (see, for example, Lancaster University's Centre for the Study of Environmental Change policy work for the Council for the Protection of Rural England, Clark et al. 1994).

A second political strategy lies in attempting to 'recover' the voice of the Other. Said plays an interesting role in this strategy through his political activism for Palestinian autonomy. As a Palestinian exile, he effectively claims Otherness for himself in voicing the concerns of his 'homeland', a dispossessed territory whose fate has been critically influenced by the concerns of the West. For MacCannell too, the solution to the silencing involved in tourism lies in the recovery and articulation of the voice of the Other. An endnote to his chapter on Locke tells us that the piece was originally written as part of a study guide for a film on Locke made by the Chinese Historical Society of America. MacCannell's involvement started when, as part of a wider project by the University of California Asian Studies Department, he was asked to represent the people of Locke in their dealings with Asian City Inc. and the California Department of Parks and Recreation. Urry's does not engage with these sorts of resistances to the tourist gaze, partly because of his reluctance to engage with the processes through which the tourist gaze gains power in a day-to-day sense, and partly because of his reading of tourism as an unstoppable invasion. His reluctance to consider resistance to the tourist gaze from 'locals' no doubt stems from his overarching concern for tourism in Britain, which he argues is different from 'Third World' situations because individuals are as likely to be travellers as 'hosts' at various points in their lives (1990a:58).

To summarise, this section has drawn out some of the parallels between tourism studies and the work of Said in conceptualising the power, pleasures and politics of relations between the West and its Others. Although Said is writing about a different era and context from tourism studies' concern with contemporary travel, they nevertheless have reasonably strong links: firstly, in terms of their insistence on a relatively coherent account of the binary opposition between self and Other at play in cross-cultural encounters; secondly, in their insistence on the power of such discourses to silence Others; and thirdly, in their political strategies. In the remainder of this chapter, I look at criticisms of Said's approach to understanding the relationship between Self and Other, and suggest that such criticisms have implications for research on tourism which could lead to a reworking of tourism studies' understanding of both the pleasures and the politics of tourism.

2.3 Travellers in Cultural Geography: identity, imagination and representation

In this section I consider some challenges which have emerged to Said's work from both geography and cultural studies, especially challenges which have de-stabilised his notions of identity, representation and Other. I start the section by exploring questions about the heterogeneity of colonial discourse that have been posed from within geography. This is developed through a discussion of feminist geographers' work on colonial discourse in Victorian women travel writers. Finally I review work from feminist cultural studies on travel as a metaphor in social theory.

2.3.1 Cultural Geography and Post-Colonialism

One of the main arenas for geography's engagement with post-colonialism has been through a re-examination of the discipline's role in the imperial project. Felix Driver (1992) points to the variety of roles played by institutions such as the Royal Geographical Society; 'founding fathers' of geography such as Halford Mackinder; and the "armies of anonymous cartographers, surveyors, and explorers, whose practical labours in Europe and at the imperial frontier were vital to the projects of colonialism" (1992:29). Such a line of inquiry can be linked to contemporary geography's investigation of the imagination and organisation of space in modernity and post-modernity. David Harvey (1989) places an understanding of both space and time as socially constructed categories which are open to continuous contestation and regulation as key sites in the formation of social power. Harvey draws on the work of Henri Lefebvre to argue that battles over the representation of space lead to the construction and regulation of space in built forms and in social practices. The task of a history of geography's imperialism is, then, to reflect on the ways in which geography's imagination of space and its material practices were caught up in the imperial project. It is in exploring this legacy that questions have been asked about Said's work.

The idea that 'imaginative geographies' played a key role in the institutions of imperialism has played a central role in contemporary geography's attempts to deal with Empire. Gregory (1994) highlights Paul Carter's (1987) *Road to Botany Bay* and Timothy Mitchell's (1989) *Colonising Egypt* as texts which explore the uses of geographical 'mappings' of space in the institutionalisation of colonial rule. In Carter's case, possession of the Australian landscape, following its declaration as *Terra Nullis*, was inscribed and legitimated through the process of naming, surveying and mapping. Mitchell adopts a Foucauldian perspective to point to the role of spatialising, disciplinary institutions such as schools, military camps, model villages and urban architecture in the colonisation of Egypt. Driver (1992) also points to the work of Richard Peet (1985) in

situating geographical concepts, such as environmental determinism, in the material requirements of their time, thus displacing geographical 'ideas' from the realm of the mind to the realm of international politics. Recent work in geography has explored the role of representations of place in the colonial project, including Sarah Jewitt (1995) on colonial forestry practices, James Ryan (1994) on photography, Teresa Ploszajska (1996) and Joan Schwartz (1996) on education, and Andrew Crowhurst (1997) on popular music hall culture and imperialism.

These recent projects in geography are part of wider research into colonial discourse which has been established across a number of disciplines. Within literary studies Seldon and Widdowson (1993), provide an introduction to a diversity of work on colonial representations, such as Peter Hulme's (1986) studies of *The Tempest* and *Robinson Crusoe* (see also Greenblatt 1982, Arac and Ritro 1991). Within history, there has been a great deal of work on the texts of early colonialism (see for example Mason 1990, Todorov 1984, Pagden 1993). Just as colonial discourse theory has developed Said's work to encompass new areas such as 'Africanism' (Brantlinger 1985, Jarosz 1992, Coombes 1994), so too work has emerged on Latin America. Seed (1991) reviews historical work on the colonial encounter between the West and Latin America, by Hulme (1986), Pastor (1988), and Sullivan (1989). In addition *Third Text* published an edition on the quincentenary of Columbus's 'discovery' of America which critiques European representations of the continent (Baddeley 1992, Bartra 1992, McLean 1992 and Sardar 1992). Recent work on popular representations during the age of empire (Torgovonick 1990, Morton 1993, Newsinger 1986, Carey-Webb 1993) has also included work on American newspaper cartoons (Johnson 1980), the Disney film "Don 'Juanito' Duck" (Burton 1992), and other Hollywood films (Dibbell 1991, Enloe 1989, Pettit 1980, Hadley-Garcia 1990, Woll 1980).

In their reviews of colonial discourse in geography, both Driver (1992) and Gregory (1994), however, point to a key issue in these accounts of geography's spatial imagination, which is the way in which they deal with the *diversity* and *heterogeneity* of colonial discourses. To introduce some of these issues, it is worth looking more closely at two geographical texts which draw on Said's work. Firstly, Michael Heffernan (1991) sets out to do for visual art what Said does for literature (see also Nochlin 1991, Heffernan 1993), looking at the themes, images and politics of a group of French Orientalist painters working during the mid-nineteenth century. Following the French invasion of Algeria in 1830, cultural producers flocked to North Africa to seek inspiration. Heffernan follows Said in arguing that such cultural products were far from innocent but directly tied to the domination of the Orient by the West. Heffernan identifies two main strands in French Orientalist painting which he uses to point to an ambiguity in colonial discourse. For some, the desert of North Africa was a symbol for cultural

decline, infertility and death, whereas for others it represented an empty, uncluttered land which offered a cleansing spirituality far from European civilisation. Heffernan argues that, despite their differences, both strands supported the imperial project: the first because it was used to justify the forces of civilisation and progress in restoring a mythical former prosperity and wealth, the second because it opened up a space for Europeans to claim the need to 'conserve' the purity of the desert. Heffernan's way of dealing with this diversity is to point out that while these contradictory images could both be used by an individual artist, even within one picture, imperial discourse could unify these contradictions:

"these images were intertwined within a single European discourse about the landscape of the Orient....both perspectives on the desert could be reconciled with a broader imperial vision....Europeans could, and did, profess admiration for a separate and distinctive Orient while at the same time promoting the necessity of a transforming and beneficial European imperial presence in the Orient" (Heffernan 1991:42).

In other words, Heffernan deals with difference within Orientalist discourses by recognising its contradictions, but draws together these differences into a unifying account of the West's encounter with its Others.

Peter Bishop's (1992) history of travel writing about Tibet sets out a different way of thinking about diversity in colonial discourse. Bishop looks at the imagination of Tibet as a sacred space amongst travellers from Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Once again, travel writing is connected to the production of European authority and imperial endeavours, but the representations and practices of encountering Tibet are not drawn together in the same way as in Heffernan's (1991) work. Bishop stresses the diversity of representations, in different historical periods, which reflect diverse encounters with Tibet by explorers, cartographers, traders, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. For Bishop:

"the creation of these successive Tibets was not a process of remorseless continuity. Embellishments, or streams of fantasy which did not pass into the next era but instead came to a dead end, are as vital to the understanding of imaginative processes as those dominant themes which spanned the entire period of nearly two hundred years" (1992:19-20).

Bishop criticises Said for his "attempt to gather up history in the service of a political cause in the present" which means that Said's account "hurries to reach the present in order to construct his grand theory" (1992:19).

Said might perhaps be forgiven this hurry given the urgency of the political points he is trying to make with regard to the Middle East. Said's originality was to blur the boundaries between previously separated institutions (such as the military, the geographical, the anthropological, and the literary) through the concept of Orientalism.

But, as Driver argues: "Orientalism must not serve as a flag of convenience, in place of a contextually-sensitive historical and geographical research" (1992:33) which recognises that although these spheres are not separate, they are not contiguous either. So for example, it might be possible to explore internal opposition to Orientalism, the contradictions of imperialism, and the consequent possibilities of resistance. In the first instance, these criticisms raise the possibility that Said's conceptualisation of a monolithic relationship between the self and the Other may, in itself, be silencing a number of other stories which could be told about encounters between the West and its Others. Secondly, these criticisms suggest that the methodological frameworks used to explore colonial discourse may need to be further developed, and thirdly that such new stories may also have something original to say about the politics of encounters between a multiplicity of 'Westes' and their Others. In the next sub-section I look at the arena in which the multiplicity of Western discourses has been explored most fully, in feminist geography's engagement with post-colonialism. I further develop the implications for methodology in Chapter 3, and the political consequences of these arguments, particularly in the arena of tourism, are drawn out later in the thesis.

2.3.2 Feminism and Colonial Diversity

Feminist geography's concern with women imperial travellers has set an agenda which raises many question about the heterogeneity of colonial discourse. The impetus for investigating women travellers arose from the desire to write women into the history of geography (Bowlby et al. 1989). Early work on women travel writers pointed in two directions. The first was to recuperate imperial women travellers to a history of geography that celebrated exploration as an originary strand. Mona Domosh (1991a, 1991b), for example, argues that women travellers should be written into a feminist historiography of the discipline because it is important to include women in a geographical tradition which is "quite inspiring and should act as a source of pride" (1991a:95). Such an account fits into celebratory accounts of intrepid and 'eccentric' women travellers (see for example Allen 1980, Russell 1988). A second direction takes a more critical view of the exploratory tradition and its role in imperial history, arguing that the domination of Others through imperial encounters is something that men did. Women's relationships with colonised people are presented as different from men's, firstly because women were restricted to the domestic sphere whilst men were 'out there' doing the dirty work of colonisation, and secondly because as a 'colonised' group in their own right, women were actually on the side of the 'natives' in resisting white male power (see Birkett and Wheelwright 1990, Mills 1994 for discussion).

While these arguments form only the starting point for work on women and colonialism, they raise the possibility that different people have different relationships with colonised people and places, and that the monolithic account of the West's dealings with its Others,

presented by Said, may cut off a number of different stories about the colonial era. Feminist writing raises similar questions as Driver (1992) about the heterogeneity of subjectivities within the West. These accounts, however, pose new questions which raise the possibility that colonial discourse is not only fractured and heterogeneous within the West as a whole, but within individuals. Questions about the exact nature of women's relationship with colonial discourse are raised by criticisms of women imperial travellers. Chaudhuri and Strobel (1992, see Mills 1994:37-8), for example, point out that accounts of white women heroicise them, either as explorers or as resisting oppression, whilst Elunt and Rose (1994:9) argue that such accounts of women's imperial presence are part of a romantic representation of women which has found an outlet in a number of literary, television and film productions. European women were not necessarily in the same position as men in the colonial context, but that does not mean that they were unable to use colonial discourse.

There is no doubt that, in many ways, colonial discourse was more useful or readily available to men rather than women. It was a masculine discourse in the sense that it often constructed its subject as male and its object as female, as Said's (1978) account of Flaubert's encounter with Kuchuk Hanem shows. The empire was a place where masculine fantasies could be enacted as heroic individual males behaved in adventurous ways, exploring 'dark continents' and subduing the 'natives', acting out the role of explorer, hunter, missionary, administrator, gentleman. Driver (1992) argues that Joseph Conrad was obsessed with the potential for the decay of 'heroic masculinity' should the empire fall. Baden-Powell's scout movement was in part designed to produce men who would be suitably prepared to carry out Britain's imperial mission (Warren 1987, see also Mangan and Walvin 1987, Richards 1989 on 'manliness' and empire). Imperial landscapes were often coded as feminine so that metaphors of conquest and domination were readily available (Rose 1993:94). Tropes of feminizing space include the representation of colonial space as a rich and fertile virgin land, or a wild and untamed place to be brought under control. Both Derek Gregory (1994:130) and Mary-Louise Pratt (1992:176) present drawings by Jan van den Street and Andrés Bello which illustrate metaphorically the 'discovery' of America to be an encounter between a fully clothed figure representing Europe and a scantily clad, female America. Clearly, it would be problematic for women to install themselves as the subject of these kinds of discourses.

And yet women travel writers did use some of the same ways of viewing the landscape as men. Alison Blunt's (1994a, 1994b) work looks at the ways in which the contradictions between travel as a masculine activity and the femininity of women travel writers was worked through by Mary Kingsley, a British woman writing about her trips to West Africa in the late nineteenth century. Blunt stresses the plurality of voices in Kingsley's writing. On the one hand, Kingsley writes as an explorer, trader and a scientific observer;

on the other hand, she is concerned with dealing with the boundaries of 'proper feminine conduct'. Blunt illustrates some of the contradictions this engenders by looking at Mary Kingsley's account of her ascent of Mount Cameroon, where the tensions between masculinity and femininity are particularly clear. Kingsley describes herself as "the third Englishman to ascend the Peak and the first to have ascended it from the south-east face" (quoted Blunt 1994b:59; emphasis in original). On reaching the top of the mountain, Kingsley writes that she is "disgusted" by the fact that the mist has rolled in and she is unable to get a good view over the landscape, a viewing position which Mary-Louise Pratt (1992) describes as the 'monarch-of-all-I-survey', a masculinist viewing position which presents authority over space through claims to knowledge. Kingsley's ability to use such a position to claim power over people living in Africa is made clear by her metaphorical use of an elevated viewing position: "I do not believe that the white race will ever drag the black up their own particular summit in the mountain range of civilisation....alas! for the energetic reformer -- the African is not keen on mountaineering in the civilisation range" (quoted Blunt 1994b:64). But at the same time as using masculine viewing positions and metaphors, Kingsley's inability to see properly from the top of the mountain highlights her inability to take on board a thoroughly masculine discourse. Kingsley stresses her femininity, firstly by suggesting that she could only take part in such 'heroic' acts by taking her 'weakness' as a woman into account, and secondly by ironically undermining tropes of exploration by gently poking fun at the pretensions of explorers.²

Blunt's point is that even within one episode, Kingsley is situated between discourses of colonialism and patriarchy. On the one hand, she uses discourses of colonialism to present herself as an authoritative figure and to escape restrictive versions of femininity at home. On the other hand, she is placed as a woman by patriarchal discourses that suggest she cannot relate to Africa in the same way as men. The ambiguities of this position mean that Kingsley has a complex relationship with colonialism, at times claiming an affinity with Africans (in undermining claims to white male authority) and at other times using deeply racist language. She is both a critic of imperialism, arguing against the institutionalisation of colonialism, whilst at the same time supporting the use of trade to 'civilise' Africa. Blunt's account of Mary Kingsley is one several which de-stabilise the binary oppositions between Self and Other which characterise Said's work (see for example Mills 1991, Gregory 1995, McEwan 1996). Rather than seeing such binaries as fixed, they are constructed through the practices of imperialism itself. But the construction of Others through imperial practices is not a simple process, it is one which is

²For example in describing her encounter with a gorilla, Kingsley writes about her 'feminine weakness': "The old male rose to his full height (it struck me at the time that this was a matter of ten feet at least, but for scientific purposes allowance must be made for a lady's emotions)" (quoted Blunt 1994b:58). Her use of irony to undermine the authority claimed by scientists is also illustrated through this quote, as Kingsley can be read as suggesting that it is not just 'a lady' who might exaggerate their 'scientific' measurements when confronted face-to-face with a gorilla.

continuously shifting and reforming. Blunt sees Kingsley's presentation of herself as feminine and Western as depending on the context in which she is working, a context which is both spatial and temporal. In other words, Kingsley's account of herself is fluid, changing to reflect the demands of her audience and publisher, and adapted according to the circumstances of her travels in Africa.

Feminist work on imperial women's travel writing, therefore, de-stabilises singular notions of imperial identities, suggesting that rather than working through binary oppositions between Self and Other, colonial discourse analysis should be sensitive to difference. In undermining these oppositions in the sphere of identity, feminism necessarily also undermines the coherence of imperial representations and their imaginations of place. As I have already suggested in relation to Mary Kingsley, certain viewing positions in the imperial context can be characterised as masculine, and these viewing positions include certain imaginative geographies. Gillian Rose (1993) has argued that particular imaginative geographies associated with the concept of 'landscape' as a way of seeing have been used to shore up masculine identities and assert a sense of ownership over both land and women (1993:89-101). A similar point is made by Mary-Louise Pratt (1992) about the imaginative geographies of the 'monarch-of-all-I-survey' trope in travel writing. The imaginative geographies of the landscape tradition are by no means exclusive to men, as is shown by Kingsley's ability to 'survey' Africa from the heights of Mount Cameroon. Yet, at the same time, Kingsley's ambiguous relationship with colonial discourse means that she produces different imaginative geographies. Pratt emphasises Kingsley's concern to write a domestic space into the imperial encounter, stressing the 'homeliness' of her boat in the Mangrove swamps of Gabon. Indeed, Pratt suggests that Kingsley's choice and interest in 'exploring' swampland is, in part, a result of her inability to present herself as an intrepid explorer who can construct new discoveries through an elevated gaze (1992:213-216). This is not to say that Kingsley's geographies are wholly outside the colonial project, as Pratt also writes of the role played by 'innocent' scientists in the imperial process. Yet it does suggest that identities and imaginative geographies are tied together in ways which are more complex than those presented in *Orientalism*.

Work on the relationship between the 'First' and 'Third' World (and obviously such imaginative geographies as these terms suggest are equally de-stabilised by the argument I have just made) has to deal with the complexities and heterogeneities of discourse in ways which do not override difference. Pratt's (1992) account of the colonisation of Latin America points out the ways in which it is not only women who cannot be represented as a fixed category of identity; neither can men. Pratt is also careful to locate the imaginative geographies of South America in their material contexts. For example, she points out the differences between the representations of South American nature produced by the

naturalist Alexander Humboldt on the one hand and the 'capitalist vanguard' on the other, embodied in figures such as Joseph Andrews who dedicated his 1827 travel book to the contemporary Chancellor of the Exchequer. The former 're-invents' South America as a romantic site of pure nature, the latter fantasises about the productive potential of the land. Whilst there are overlaps in their presentation of the continent as devoid of people, Pratt explores the power that each representation holds within the specific contexts of their use. Rather than attempting to draw either representation into a totalising account, Pratt emphasise the different 'surpluses' produced for their authors: prestige and authority for Humboldt, legitimisation of a development project, economic gain and masculine adventure for the capitalist vanguard (see also Porter 1991 for diversity in masculinist representations of colonial space).

In this sub-section I have used feminist geography's engagement with post-colonialism to question monolithic connections between the articulation of imaginative geographies and the construction of identity. Work on Victorian women travellers suggests that the imaginative geographies used by individuals do not necessarily add up to a coherent vision of the Other, but instead are used strategically to enact fluid and multiple identities within particular contexts and times. Lisa Lowe (1991) argues that multiple "Orientalist situations" exist in different times and places: "discursively constructed positions of Otherness are neither fixed nor continuous. Representations of difference and Otherness are multivalent, signifying distinct meanings within particular contexts" (see also Blunt 1994a:25). Later in the chapter I argue that we need to think not only about how imaginative geographies are used to narrate particular identities within specific contexts, but also the ways in which these contexts and identities overlap with others, or 'stretch out' across time and space. But, for now, I want to hold on to the fluidity of the imaginative geographies and identities which emerge from the literature on Victorian women's travel writing.

2.3.3 'Border Crossings': Metaphors of Travel in Social Theory

In this sub-section I turn to other travellers who traverse the pages of cultural theory, this time in the guise of metaphors of travel. Metaphors of travel (such as 'nomadic thought', 'travelling theory', 'the flaneur') have proliferated in recent years as part of general growth in spatial metaphors (such as centre, margin, border, location) in the social sciences. These metaphors, while diverse in their uses, suggest the positioning of knowledge and politics in ways which oppose the totalising discourses of knowledge in some social theory (for reviews see G. Pratt 1992, Smith and Katz 1993). I want to draw on aspects of these debates, particularly feminist criticisms of travelling theory, to ask questions about the practices of encountering 'other' cultures.

The use of travel as a metaphor emerges from Said's (1983) work on the ways in which theory is transformed and translated as it moves from place to place, situation to situation and critic to critic. Said's argument is that 'travelling theory' is always 'placed' and worldly, answering immediate rather than transcendental concerns. I do not wish to engage with Said's version of travelling theory here³, but rather consider the ways in which the metaphor has been transformed in the work of the anthropologist James Clifford (1989, 1992). In his work on ethnography, where he attempts to deal with the problems of representing 'other' cultures, Clifford develops travel as a metaphor to highlight the process of translation, as knowledge is transported from one cultural context to another. 'Travelling theory' for Clifford means the movement of ideas and theories from one place and time to another place and time. The metaphor highlights the point that knowledge about, and from, other cultures is never a 'pure' or untainted representation of the world, but that it is always being packed up, shipped off and opened up again within specific contexts. There are two points I want to draw out of Clifford's and others' work on travelling theory, points which are complicated by the slippage between the metaphorical and the material in many of these texts.

The first point is the possibility that travel involves cross-cultural interaction. Clifford argues that, in a sense, all cultures are 'nomadic' in that they are necessarily 'unlocatable' in any originary sense of the word. Far from living in different worlds, cultures can be understood as being deeply and meaningfully engaged with each other. Said's (1978) understanding of cultural interaction might be presented through a metaphor of the projector and the screen, in which the Other is 'fixed' and silenced by the fantasy which is projected against him or her. For Clifford (1992), the powerful are not hermetically sealed from their Others, nor is knowledge about the Other completely circumscribed by the inter-textual circulation of 'Western' words. We have to consider the possibilities that the imaginative geographies used by 'Westerners' are not only those circulated within the 'West', but also the translated imaginative geographies of Others.

Mary-Louise Pratt (1992) draws out the implications of these conversations between 'cultures' for thinking about travel writing. She begins her book with the extraordinary story of a letter written in Cusco by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala in 1613, four decades after the Inca empire fell to the Spaniards. The letter, addressed to the King of Spain, is written in a mixture of Spanish and Quechua, and describes the Spanish conquest, the Inca way of life, and the injustices of Spanish rule. Pratt uses this text to exemplify the possibilities of knowledge circulating within what she calls the 'contact zone' -- the space where cultures which see each other as separate are brought together. The 'contact zone' is a space of 'transculturation', where representations, imaginative geographies or knowledges circulate between cultures. As well as developing the phrase 'contact zone' to

³Although I discuss issues of the situatedness of knowledge in Chapter 3.

describe the material processes at work in imperialism, Pratt also uses it metaphorically to displace notions of the 'colonial frontier' as an indivisible boundary which separates the circulation of knowledge into separate cultural spheres, as Said (1978) seems to suggest.

"A 'contact' perspective emphasises how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations between colonizers and colonized, or travelers and 'travelees' [sic.], not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power" (M.-L. Pratt 1992:7).

In support of this argument, Sarah Mills (1994) points out that within the British Raj the circulation of domestic and homely knowledges, such as about ethnic recipes and cooking, or how to use cotton, were part and parcel of the unequal cultural dialogues of colonialism (1994:32). In other words, the circulation of knowledge *within* and *between* cultures in the contact zone cannot be separated out. Explorations of the 'inter-textuality'⁴ suggested by Said should then include 'inter-textuality' as it is found in inter-cultural conversations on the ground, rather than by drawing boundaries around 'cultures'.

The second point to draw out of Clifford (1992) and Pratt's (1992) work is that if travel is part of a cultural conversation, which involves a process of 'translation' from the familiar to the unfamiliar, the Other to the self, from one cultural realm to another, it is one in which the terms of its 'border crossings' are problematic. Clifford claims that he uses the word 'travel' because of its:

"historical taintedness, its associations with gendered, racial bodies, class privilege, specific means of conveyance, beaten paths, agents, frontiers, documents, and the like. I prefer it to a more apparently neutral, and 'theoretical' term, such as 'displacement', which can make the drawing of equivalences across different historical experiences too easy" (1992:110).

Clifford's emphasis is on the ways in which knowledge changes as it 'crosses borders' and is 'translated' from one realm to another. This raises issues about who has the power to 'translate' knowledges: who has the power to cross borders, who polices them, who acts as a 'guide', whose footsteps the traveller follows, and to whom the traveller writes back. In particular, I think this raises issues of form. There is a concern with the ways in which knowledge takes on certain forms in its translation in order to provide it with acceptability and authority as it is mobilised from one arena to another. Clifford is particularly interested in challenging the poetics of translation, for example the ways in which knowledge has to take on the form of ethnographic authority before it can be sent off from the 'field' to the academy. As a metaphor, then, 'travel' points to the ways in which knowledge is mediated through 'poetics', and an emphasis is placed on the power of poetics to give authority to visions of the Other.

⁴ 'Inter-textuality' is perhaps a slightly problematic term because of its emphasis on the importance of the written word. This section explores the diversity of forms and media taken by 'border crossings'.

Feminist writers have criticised Clifford's use of metaphors of travel in social science. Janet Wolff (1993) argues that Clifford's singular version of 'travel' needs to be deconstructed to show the investments and authority it contains, and in particular, the way it is associated with the construction of certain masculine identities. Using similar arguments to those I have discussed in section 2.3.2, Wolff argues that certain forms of mobility are associated with certain identities: "the ideological gendering of travel (as male) [which] both impedes female travel and renders problematic the self-definition of (and response to) women who *do* travel" (1993:234, see also McDowell 1996). In making this point, Wolff is saying that by using metaphors of travel for the production of knowledge in the social sciences, Clifford (1992) is likely to exclude certain identities from theoretical 'spaces'. If inter-cultural knowledge is produced through 'travel', certain subjectivities are more likely to be able produce that knowledge than others. In other words, the authority provided by travel in constructing cross-cultural knowledges is linked to masculine identities.

A further point is made by Caren Kaplan (1996). Kaplan's work looks at the uses of tropes of mobility and displacement as metaphors in social theory. She asks why 'travel' is chosen as a way of theorising cross-cultural understanding, when other sorts of displacements made by refugees, guest workers and immigrants are ignored. All these other forms of displacement are involved in 'crossing borders' and making 'translations' from one cultural arena to another, so what is it about travel that makes it so useful to writers such as Clifford? Kaplan argues that Clifford uses 'travel' because it fits into a modernist tradition whereby Western intellectuals have produced authority for themselves through the claims made of 'exile'. Exile is a powerful way in which writers have claimed a critical distance from their own culture which provides a form of authority about both other cultures and their own culture. The construction of a position 'outside' culture, without location, is useful in providing authority for academic representations.

The aim of this sub-section is not so much to engage with these metaphorical displacements, but to develop an account of what they might tell us about the investments being made in material travel. There are two main points I want to draw out of 'travelling theory' and its critics. Firstly, material accounts of travel need to pay attention to the poetics, form and media through which 'translations' and 'border crossings' are made. This means exploring the diversity of ways in which people construct and circulate cross-cultural knowledges and understandings. Following Kaplan's argument, one point that could be made is that travel of the sort which Clifford writes about is but one form of mobility amongst many. Long-haul travel needs to be located within a whole range of ways of encountering Others, which include immigration and exile, but also other media for viewing the world, such as television, film, radio or books. What authority does

travel have in encountering Others which these other media do not have? How is travel authorised in this way? But in addition to the ways in which travel is authorised as a practice for 'translating' Others when compared to these other media, we also need to think about the authorisation of a variety of travel practices which claim to give presence to Others. In part this means thinking about the poetics of 'travel stories', or the ways in which discursive representations are used to re-present the Other. But apart from the poetics of discursive practices, a material account of travel has to look at the non-discursive practices which are used in making 'border crossings'. Travel is made up a whole host of relationships with the Other that are constructed through technologies such as the camera, material goods such as souvenirs, and perhaps most importantly, through the bodily practices of travel, such as (to give to contemporary examples) sun-bathing on a beach, or trekking through the countryside.

So just as discursive modes of 'border crossings' are authorised through the poetics of representation, non-discursive 'border crossings' have to be constructed as ways of 'getting in touch' with the Other. Two examples of the authorisation of non-discursive ways of 'translating' the Other within an imperial context are provided by Joan Schwartz (1996) and Teresa Ploszajska (1996). Schwartz explores the ways in which photography, at its inception in the early nineteenth century, had to be given credence as a way of rendering other places and times present to the viewer⁵. Ploszajska writes about three dimensional geographical models used in teaching in the late nineteenth century, where landscapes in the classroom were seen as providing tangible representation of other places so that the child could experience them not only by gazing but by touching as well. My point in citing these two examples is that non-discursive practices have to be authorised as much as discursive poetics in order for them to claim access to other places and people.

The second point to make is that modes of 'translation' and 'border crossing' are connected to the construction of identity. Wolff argues that if travel is authorised as a way of constructing cross-cultural knowledge, then women are likely to be excluded from the production and circulation of knowledge because of the problematic relationship between femininity and travel. Travel as an authoritative set of practices and representations is, then, linked to the construction of masculinity. Wolff ignores the internal diversity of travel, but it is worth thinking about the ways in which certain modes of 'translation' are authorised and encoded as masculine or feminine. In terms of a material analysis of travel, this means that any account of travel as a diversity of discursive and non-discursive practices has to explore the investments which are made in particular modes of 'border crossing' as a resource for identity. To provide a brief illustration of this point, photography as a mode of experiencing the Other is can be presented as a more serious

⁵ As an aside, Schwartz writes that Alexander von Humboldt, during his trips to Latin America, was a key figure in authorising photography, compared with line drawings, as a mode of presenting the places he had visited to contemporaries back in Europe

way of encountering the Other than shopping, yet as modes of 'border crossing' which provide 'translations' of the Other, photography is often linked to masculine identities whilst femininity is linked to shopping. Photography is not only authorised as a 'better' way of encountering the Other, but men are able to use that particular mode of 'border crossing' to produce a masculine travelling identity. Identity is, then, enacted through the use of specific practices and poetics of travel.

To conclude this section, I have used feminist engagements with post-colonialism to destabilise the three themes of this thesis: identities, imaginative geographies and the representations of the Other. Whilst acknowledging the seminal work of Edward Said (1978) on Orientalism, critics have focused on heterogeneity in the colonial encounter in two particular theoretical arenas. Firstly, work on Victorian women's writers argues that imaginative geographies do not present a monolithic Other which is used to construct as monolithic self, as Said suggests. Rather, both imaginative geographies and the identities they interpellate are discontinuous, to be invested in and drawn upon at specific times in specific locations. Secondly, work on 'travelling theory', in part extending the point that individuals do not neatly fit into categories of one culture or another, focuses attention on the processes of translating between a variety of cultural realms. In particular, it asks us to pay attention to the diversity of modes through which 'translation' takes place, both discursively and non-discursively, and to the ways in which these modes are authorised as providing a way of rendering the Other present. It is not just imaginative geographies which are used to narrate and enact identity, but the very materiality of the form in which it takes place as well.

Theorising the encounter between the West and its Others, then, means paying attention to the detail. Sara Mills argues that "rather than viewing imperial activity as the imposition of rule by an army or the 'discovery' of a country by an explorer, imperialism can instead be seen to consist of a myriad of activities..." (1994:32). Such a myriad of activities includes discursive and non-discursive practices which mobilise a variety of imaginative geographies through which identities are enacted, embodied, contested and enjoyed. In the next section, I look at how these criticisms of Said's theorisation of the relationship between the West and its Others, with their principal focus on the imperial era, can be used in thinking about and drawing together the 'myriad activities' which make up long-haul travel in the contemporary world.

2.4 'Travel Circuits': places, practices and identities

In this section I want to make my own 'border crossing', translating the terms of colonial discourse theory into an account of the pleasures of contemporary long-haul travel to Peru. Work on colonial discourse theory has been translated from the historical studies of

the imperial era to contemporary studies, for example see Lutz and Collins (1993) on the National Geographic magazine, Sarah Radcliffe (1996) on the imaginative geographies of Ecuadorian nationalism, and David Spurr (1993) on newspaper journalism, and indeed writers dealing with the imperial context, such as Said (1993) and Pratt (1992), often extend their work to the contemporary period. With the exception of Lutz and Collins, these writers rely on an interpretation of textual sources for their material. However my aim in this section is not to deal with the questions that arise from carrying out research with contemporary and verbal sources (see Chapter 3). Rather it is to use the criticisms of Said which I recounted in the previous section to critique and develop John Urry's work on the tourist gaze. If Said can be criticised for a relative inattention to the diversity of identities, imaginations and practices which are at play in the imperial context, then these criticisms can be also be used towards Urry.

Firstly, looking at contemporary travel means thinking about the diversity of identities for which travel is mobilised. Rather than explaining tourism as originating in class difference (Urry 1990a), for example, we must look at the ways in which travel practices are constitutive of, as well as constituted by, the narration and performance of class (and other) identities. Ian Munt (1994), for example, draws on the ideas of Bourdieu (1984), to argue that the imaginative geographies of long-haul travel associate certain places with 'real travel' and therefore 'real difference' from home. Travelling to such places is a way of stoking up on the cultural capital necessary to enact a middle class identity. As Munt puts it "[t]ravelling' has emerged as an important informal qualification with the passport acting, so to speak, as professional certification; a record of achievement and experience" (1994:112). If class identities are seen as constructed through the practices of travel, this leaves open the way for an account which recognises the diversity and ambiguity of travelling identities. We should be aware of the uses of travel in enacting not only class identities, but also gendered, raced and aged identities, for example. Such an analysis would look at the uses of the imaginative geographies of tourism in the enactment of multiple identities within different contexts.

As a brief aside, this does of course raise questions about the resources needed to adopt travel practices for the self-identity, and about relationship between the economic and the cultural. What is singularly missing in accounts of Victorian travellers, such as those by Blunt (1994) and Pratt (1992, although see Blake 1990), is the resources they were able to draw upon as members of the middle classes. However feminist analyses of women travellers do point to that fact that it is not possible to reduce travel practices to control over money, as control over other resources (such as a male body) were also important. An understanding of the variety of investments made in travel, whether they be psychological, cultural or economic (Crang 1994a), is crucial. This means paying

attention to both the material and symbolic investments which are placed in travel, control over which is crucial in the distribution of the benefits provided by travel.

Secondly, in addition to the diversity of identities produced through travel, a material analysis needs to be aware of the diversity of forms, the practices and poetics, through which travellers consume places. Urry (1990a, 1995) has been criticised as placing too much emphasis on the gaze as the main way in which travellers enact 'border crossings'. Although he does recognise the diversity of technologies through which the gaze can 'translate' the Other (see Crawshaw and Urry 1997), Jokinen and Veijola (1994), argue for the centrality of *the body* to tourist experiences. They suggest that practices such as sunbathing and swimming are important ways in which the Other is experienced. To these embodied practices I would add practices such as trekking or wearing ethnic clothing, but would call for an openness to the media through which travellers encounter their Others: through technologies, through language, through institutions, through images, as well as through the body and the gaze. A materialist account of travel not only has to be aware of this diversity, but also of the ways in which these practices are authorised as appropriate for travellers, and the encoding of these practices for identity. The ways in which tourist 'cross borders' in travel practices and representations are a resource for identity. Sunbathing, for example, is often associated with working class experiences of 'away', whilst middle class encounters may be through food coded as authentically ethnic (see for example Cook and Crang 1997). This means listening to the investments travellers make in particular ways of encountering the Other, and thinking about the consequences this has for the social formations of tourism.

To draw this section towards a close, in using colonial discourse theory to think about contemporary travel I would suggest that we should see both the content (the authentic, the romantic etc.) and the form (the poetics and performances) of the imaginative geographies of travel as investments in and resources for selves and their identities. But rather than presenting the imaginative geographies and practices of travel as constructing a stable and monolithic self and Other, one where tourism takes the same form throughout the world, I want to look at travel as something more heterogeneous and complex. Travel is about constellations of imaginative geographies, practices of 'translation', and self-identities which are situated in specific times and places. The problem raised by recent colonial discourse theory is how to 'hold together' the variety of strategic uses of travelling imaginations and practices in their diverse local and strategic uses.

Here I would suggest that we need to envision a 'travel circuit' to draw together the constellations of imaginations and practices which are used to produce travelling identities in a variety of contexts. Curtis and Pajaczkowska (1994) point to a structure of tourism which involves a displacement from home to away, and return. The places and locations

of travel are found in the narration of a departure, time away, and return. An account of travel which is sensitive to the multiplicity of identities has to look at the constellations of travelling imaginations, practices and identities as they are constructed during these three 'moments': before departure, whilst away and on homecoming. This is not to say however, that there is a complete separation of identity between these moments. Rather, the locations within the 'travel circuit' mutually constitute each other, or to use a more recent metaphor, they 'bleed' into each other (Cook and Crang 1996). The desires and investments of the self at home constitute and overlap with the practices of travel whilst away, and the practices of travel are narrated into identity in various situations at home. Although constellations of self, place and representation are used in specific contexts, we need to understand the ways they are used to 'cobble together' identities (Pred and Watts 1996) over time and space. Using this 'travel circuit', we can begin to think about the ways in which identities 'stretch out' over space, so that a concern to develop certain identities in at home in Britain has consequences across the globe for travel practices in places such as Peru.

2.5 Conclusions

This thesis looks at investments in the discourses and practices of travel for the construction of identity. It recognises the fluidity of identity, imaginative geographies, practices and representations. It acknowledges their boundedness in spatial and temporal contexts, and it works with, rather than against, their diversity. In the thesis, I emphasise the local, working specifically within the context of travellers visiting Peru. At the same time I attempt to think about the ways in which the concerns, interests and anxieties of various western identities 'stretch out' through their consumption practices to incorporate places such as Peru, which are firmly situated within the global tourism economy. By developing an empirical account of the investments placed by travellers in their trips, I argue that this thesis opens up a space for thinking about the politics of travel consumption, and the ways in which travel practices are open to intervention. In the next chapter I look at the methodological issues involved in such a project.

Chapter 3

Researching Tourists: Methodologies

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I suggested that research on tourists should pay attention to the strategic uses and performances of imaginative geographies, both in terms of their content and the material practices which are authorised in 'translating' Others into travel experiences. In this chapter I look at the use of methodologies to research tourists. Methodologies work to combine the theoretical and practical aspects of a research project as the researcher relates material to analysis:

"Being the juncture between the concrete acts and tools of analysis (methods) and the overarching frames of interpretation (theory), a methodology represents a heuristics, or mode of enquiry" (Jenson 1991:6).

Methodologies and their research practices should, in other words, reflect the theoretical questions and issues being raised by a research project. The empirical aim of this project is to explore the desires at play amongst contemporary travellers visiting Peru, an aim which requires a careful understanding of the strategic uses of travel in the construction of identity. The methods and research practices which I use to work through these issues are in-depth interviews and participant observation with travellers from Britain to Peru. This chapter firstly deals with theoretical arguments surrounding methodologies, particularly concerning the politics of post-colonial research and the conceptualisation of the research subject. The second part of the chapter deals with research practices.

3.2 Researching identities: conceptualising tourists, politics and methodologies

In this section I deal with two methodological concerns in carrying out research with tourists visiting Peru. The first sub-section deals with the politics of post-colonial research, and in particular the nature of authority and power in the relationship between the researcher and the researched. The second sub-section deals with concerns about methodologies that seek to conceptualise the tourist as an active agent in producing constellations of spatial knowledges, travel practices and self-identities, and in particular looks to qualitative work in media studies and cultural geography as a model for research practices. The third sub-section looks specifically at in-depth interviews and participant observation as methodologies which are appropriate to working with tourists.

3.2.1 The Politics of Post-Colonial Research

Concerns have been voiced surrounding the ways in which post-colonial research is practised and written. These concerns focus on issues of subjectivity and authority. Writing about methodologies more generally, Cook and Crang (1995:6-7) suggest that particular attention should be paid to the conceptualisation of the relationship between the subjectivities of the researcher and of the researched. This section therefore draws out the implications for this research relationship of the theories of Self and Other I presented in the previous chapter.

The paradox of Saidian versions of colonial discourse analysis is that they use similar authorial strategies as the texts analysed. Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose compare the authoritative claims of the colonial cartographer to render space visible to the claims of the historian of colonialism to render discursive space fully transparent.

"Claims for mimetic representation have been reproduced by certain mappings of colonialism. Imperialist history, like colonial mapping, emphasised visibility in its legitimisation of conquest. Both the colonial map-maker and the imperial historian perceived an external reality to be mimetically represented." (Blunt and Rose 1994:14)

In work such as Said's, the researcher is presented as an individual who is able to make clear the transparent meanings within the text, such that reading is left unproblematic. Said's writing seems to suggest that texts have clear and unequivocal meanings, foreclosing the availability and possibilities of multiple readings (Mills 1994). Authoritative interpretations position the identity of the researcher in specific ways. His or her identity is constructed, through the process of research, as a figure who is able to provide a transparent 'translation' of the words used by those being researched, giving a fixity of meaning to their articulations. Such a position repeats the discursive 'violence' imposed by imperial discourse on its Others. Whilst colonial discourse analysis has largely been concerned with research on textual media of communication, the same arguments can be extended to the 'translation' of embodied social practices. The meanings given to such practices are not immediately available to the researcher, but authoritative and unequivocal interpretations are given and performed through academic practices of writing.

Post-colonial research on colonial discourses needs to be able to theorise the 'translations' which are at play in the reading of texts. In the previous chapter, I argued that the imaginative geographies and knowledges of colonialism and tourism are used strategically, to enact certain identities within specific historical contexts and spatial locations. Following critiques of Said, I would argue that there is no fixed identity which can be ascribed to the participants in a research project which can be 'read off' from their words and actions. Rather, situations in which the researcher is involved are, in themselves, part of the context in which strategic utterances and actions are used by the

researched in order to present, at least in part, certain imaginative geographies and identities to the researcher. Moreover, the meaning of the discursive and non-discursive practices of travellers is not limited to their content, but is constituted through the form that they take. Given that an individual's identity is constructed through a variety of social situations, biographies, thoughts, feelings, memories and actions, the researcher cannot foreclose the definitive identity of the researched (Cook and Crang 1995:8).

Clearly, then, the methodologies used in this thesis, if they are to develop an narrative of the investments placed by travellers in their trip to Peru, need to provide a sensitive account and interpretation of the words, actions and experiences of research subjects. Firstly, the methodologies used should be sensitive to the issues of 'translation' which are at stake in research, such that interpretations are situated within the context of their production, and are not simply 'read off' from the stories and practices of travellers. Secondly, methodologies need to be reflexive in examining the politics and ethics of 'translation' used in research practice. Although qualitative work, such as the methodologies of in-depth interviews and participant observation which I outline shortly, have at times been cast as constituting a more equal relationship between the researcher and the researched (see Borland 1991, McDowell 1992b), there is no sense in which qualitative methodologies necessarily mean that the researcher escapes issues involved in the politics of research. Moreover, the fact that I am using ethnographic methods which are normally critiqued in terms of their orientation towards the powerless (for example Katz 1994) with travellers who are often in a position of power does not override these political concerns. The politics of research is about the processes and practices through which knowledge is produced, as well as the political interventions in the field of travel which the research makes possible.

Reflexivity about the politics and ethics of research means thinking about both its material practices and its discursive representational strategies. As far as *research practices* are concerned, I raise three related issues. Researchers should be aware of the power held to dictate the terms through which the experiences of the researched are 'translated' into academia. Through the authorisation of specific epistemologies for the production of knowledge, and the consequent delegitimation of other forms of knowledge, the researcher acts as a 'gate-keeper' to academic knowledge. Having said that, certain research methodologies are amenable to a more equal research relationship, where those who are part of the research process are able to take some kind of control, or at least enter into alliances with, the researcher. Qualitative methodologies, such as in-depth interviews, where the terms of the interview are not totally formed by the researcher, provide space for the participants in the research process to present an identity to the researcher with which the interviewee feels comfortable, or even finds pleasurable.

Secondly, there is a need to recognise the extent to which the ability to carry out research practices is based in the control of material and cultural resources which allow the researcher to enact certain identities and to access certain social spaces. Without the financial support of the Economic and Social Research Council, who provided me with the material resources to visit Peru and take part in travel situations, as well as travel to interviews in Britain, the knowledge produced by this project would not have been possible. But more than this, as a researcher I need to be aware of the ways in which my position as a young, white, male and middle class academic enabled me to place myself in situations which were useful to the project (although these positions also excluded me from other social spaces).

Thirdly, reflexivity about research practices means thinking about their limitations in rendering research subjects present to the reader. It is worth stressing that the accounts produced through the research practices of this thesis are partial in many ways. For Peter Hulme, colonial discourse analysis should always be aware that "no smooth history emerges, but rather a series of fragments, which read speculatively, hint at a story which can never be recovered" (1986:12). I do not, however, want to use this as a 'catch-all' statement, and later in the chapter I look at the specific ways in which the methodologies I use in this project produce these 'fragments'.

Having dealt briefly with issues in the politics of practice, I now turn to issues of *writing*. The act of writing has come under particular scrutiny following the 'crises of representation' in the social sciences in general. Thanks in small part to post-colonial writers such as Said, it is no longer possible to argue for an "unconditioned description" (Geertz 1983:132) whereby writing claims to mirror the world. This means that the question of authority in writing has been examined in some depth (Barnes and Duncan 1992, Duncan and Ley 1993). Several solutions have emerged, with Marcus Doel (1993) suggesting that geographers should abandon all attempt to write in ways which could be claimed as representational. Within cultural geography and cultural studies, however, there has been an attempt to deal with new writing practices which might resolve some of the issues of representation. Philip Crang (1992) explores the possibilities of using polyphonic writing strategies, whilst Geraldine Pratt (1992) suggests the use of spatial metaphors and speaking positions. Both question the utility of these writing styles, arguing that they are ambiguous in terms of their loss of representational control. For example, the difficulty with many polyphonic and experimental writing styles is that they often occlude the real issues of power which are still involved in producing any text. Linda McDowell (1992a) comments that is often only those who have power in the form of cultural and financial capital, as well as the time, that are able to produce such texts.

A further strategy has been to defend Said's style of writing. John Kasbarian (1996) deals with attacks on Said by suggesting that the well-known paradox between Said's criticisms of western humanism and his use of its authority provides a set of positions for Said which operate in a productive tension. Said's use of his position as a western academic allows him to use its authority at the same time as he disputes it. My own position in these debates is that academic writing inevitably enacts a certain degree of authority and power over its research subjects. Final control over the writing of this thesis rests in my hands and in the institutional context from which it emanates, as the voices of those who have taken part in the research have been organised on my own terms. As a researcher, I need to recognise the bases of this authority, and use it carefully in the development of political interventions in the field of tourism.

That said, there are ways of writing which provide a 'fairer' representation of the people who have participated in this research project. I have looked towards methodologies and interpretations which do not 'pathologise' the people I am representing as completely different from myself. 'Tourists' have often been a figurative site where academics have vented their spleen about the evils of the modern world and, as such, they have provided an Other against which academics have constructed their own identities. This means that rather than separating myself off from the travellers I interviewed, I have tried to represent them in ways which engage the empathy of the reader, much as mine were engaged during the time I spent talking to the people who, ultimately, made this thesis possible. My attempt to write with some empathy does not mean I see myself as a travel 'insider', and although I shared some of the enthusiasms of the people I interviewed there are clearly many moments in this thesis when my own political and professional concerns override the concerns of the travellers. I do not speak on behalf of travellers, nor do I always defend travel practices. Although I have tried to avoid some of the problems involved in writing about others, inevitably this attempt often fails and I do not doubt that some of the people in this thesis would dispute my account of them. To counter this imbalance of power, I follow McDowell's (1992a:409) comments that "we must recognise and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and *write this into our own research practice*".

To summarise this section, I have set out some of the implications for methodological practice which seem consistent with the theory I developed in Chapter 2. Criticisms of colonial discourse would seem to suggest that academic research should be aware of its own authority over its research subjects, both in its research and writing practices. However, rather than completely rejecting this authority, I have suggested that it is worth drawing on to a certain extent, because of the political interventions it allows. At the same time, the grounds of authority on which the thesis rests should be made clear. This means

that methodological approaches should be used with an awareness of the 'translations' they make between the researched and the researcher.

3.2.2 Tourists and the Circuit of Culture

In this sub-section I deal with a second methodological concern, which surrounds the use of research resources and techniques which can conceptualise the tourist as an active agent in giving meaning to the places they visit. As I argued in Chapter 2, travellers strategically draw upon specific imaginative geographies and practices of translation. This means that the discourses of travel are used to position identity in specific (although contestable) ways. What research techniques can be used to investigate the investments travellers place in these discourses? To answer this question, I turn to work in media studies and cultural geography which has developed a variety of research methods that conceptualise the 'audience' as active consumers.

In order to think more carefully about consumers as active agents, and the consequent methodological implications, such work has often drawn on Richard Johnson's (1986) 'circuit of culture'. Johnson's useful review of cultural studies identifies two main approaches: firstly those based loosely in structuralist project, where "the preferred mode of working is 'the reading' by which texts yield up their rules and artifices, including their unspoken assumptions" (1986:290), and secondly those based in a culturalist approach which "finds its rationale in the structural features of lived cultures as a form of consciousness" (1986:290). Examples of this approach include work such as ethnographic studies of sub-cultures or work cultures (see for example Clark et al. 1979). Johnson argues that these two approaches can be reconciled through a model of cultural studies which sees each approach as dealing with a specific part of a 'circuit of culture'. Johnson's circuit points to the translation of meanings within cultural products as they move from the context of production to the 'text' to the reader and circulate into wider lived culture. Johnson goes on to argue that "a fuller grasp of cultural processes depends on grasping....the whole circuit of transformations" (1986:289).

Johnson suggests that each of these moments should be thought of as separate but interconnected, so that individual studies work with an awareness of the position of their object of study within the circuit and therefore of the limitations of their research in understanding cultural processes. In particular, Johnson is critical of text-based approaches which claim to be able to understand the 'ordinary' reader (1986:295). He argues against analyses of texts which abstract them from the meanings made of them by readers, such that the 'ordinary reader' is assumed to be 'seduced' by the structures of the text in ways which 'the critic' avoids. The most useful part of Johnson's work is that he focuses attention on the reader as a consumer of texts as producing the key moment in which meaning is actually communicated from one person to another. Indeed for Johnson

this is one of the most exciting potential agendas for research. The key point is that researchers must be open to the variety of readings which readers can produce, and the pleasures which are entailed in those readings, whether they support the "dominant-hegemonic" meanings of the author, or whether they are "negotiated" or "oppositional" (Hall 1980).

As far as tourism studies is concerned, most attention has been focused on the production and the texts of tourism. I return to the use of qualitative methodologies in studying the production of tourism in Chapter 8, but for now it is worth looking briefly at the study of tourist texts. Brochure analysis has been one of the most popular forms of qualitative analysis in tourism studies, and at times it has made claims for itself as a basis for understanding tourist consumption. Although brochure analysis has been an integral part of tourism studies since the 1970s, the methods and uses of such work has obviously changed over the years. In the 1970s research concentrated on critiquing the place images contained within brochures. For example, Buck (1977) points to the 'staged authenticity' presented in brochures representing the Amish community in Pennsylvania, suggesting that these representations are politically useful because they preserve the Amish ways of life from tourists. Conversely, Britton's (1979) survey of representations of 'Third World' destinations berates brochures for giving false images, which he argues should be replaced by 'realistic' images of development in action. Whilst other work on brochures has offered mundane 'content analyses' of the visual imagery used in brochures (see for example Dilley 1986), perhaps the most important development has been in the field of semiotic analysis (following Barthes' "Blue Guide", 1972)

In early semiotic work on brochures there is a claim that such research can provide a 'way in' to the mind of the traveller. Urbain (1989:109-110) argues that: "the tourist himself [sic.] may be considered through his advertisements". Urbain goes on to claim that:

"...every behaviour, virtual or realised, expressed or real, can be seen as a *semiological emergency*, referring partially or completely to a narrative structure which is the 'Imaginary' [of the tourist]...Therefore to decode the narrative structures which animate tourist advertisements contributes to an understanding of the code which determines touristic behaviour" (Urbain 1989:110; emphasis in original)

Urbain assumes that there is a totalising structure to 'the tourist mind', and that brochures illustrate specific instances which stem from that structure. The task is, then, to look at the meanings given within brochures as a way of understanding tourists.

The problem with this approach is highlighted by Johnson (1986). Textual studies such as Urbain's are useful in that they tell us about the representational techniques which are used to produce meanings for places, and certainly the 'dominant-hegemonic' connections made between (for example) tropical beaches and paradise within brochures can be

powerful mediators in the development of tourist formations. But as Johnson points out, the subjectivities of the reader cannot be inferred from a reading of the text, because we do not know what personal circumstances, cultural background, ambitions, desires or raced, gendered and classed identities a person may bring to the moment of reading. For example, Feiffer (1985) speculates that a new group of 'post-tourists', who escape problems of authenticity by travelling ironically in the full knowledge that they are tourists, may read brochures as a piece of kitsch art. At times the language of brochure analysis appears to hold to a position that texts have an immediate power over their readers to enforce meanings onto them. At one point, for example, David Uzzell (1984:84) writes that the brochure advertisement "is an image of something he [sic. i.e. the tourist] wants to be, to have, to experience, or to achieve. The advertiser makes him dissatisfied with what he is, has, experiences, or achieves, and offers him a remedy: he is seduced" (1984:84).

To be fair, most work on brochures does recognise the limitations of this approach to understanding tourists themselves. Uzzell (1984), for example, also stresses the ambiguous nature of the readings that can be given to brochures because of these multiple meanings. Silver (1993) states that in looking at the construction of Orientalist images in brochures advertising the 'Third World' she is examining the production of marketing rather than tourists themselves. Goss (1993) similarly emphasises that consumers should be seen as making their own meanings out of texts. Goss goes on to argue that his analysis captures the 'dominant meanings' of the text, and that he can therefore "examine the manner in which advertisements interpellate specific social subjects and how the identity of the ideal-type tourist seems to have changed over time" (1993:664).

In order to look for methodologies that can deal with tourists as active consumers of place, I have turned to the arena of media studies and 'audience' work in cultural geography. The 'new audience paradigm' of media studies was innovative in that it conceived of consumers as creative readers who could resist as well as accept the 'dominant meanings' of texts. Research such as David Morley's (1980, 1992) work on the *Nationwide* audience and television viewing in family cultures have marked the way towards investigations on a number of media audiences, such as readers of romantic fiction (Radway 1984) and soap operas (Ang 1985). Whilst such work has debated the relative powers held by readers to resist readings (Fiske 1989, Morley 1992), and the pleasures of drawing on the meanings intended by the author (Kneale 1996), one of its main features has been to develop a strong commitment to qualitative research with 'ordinary readers'. Within geography, such work has been developed particularly by Jacquelin Burgess and the Department of Geography at University College London. Burgess argues strongly against the traditional role of the 'critic' in providing meanings for texts such as "landscapes", arguing that often within geography: "the analyst remains

in the dominant position of telling readers what these landscapes mean for the people who purchase and live in them" (1990:140). Through a number of research projects, for example on resistance to place marketing in Docklands (Burgess and Wood 1988), and in the consumption of news about nature (Burgess, Goldsmith and Harrison 1990, Burgess, Harrison and Maitney 1991), qualitative methodologies such as in-depth interviewing and in-depth groups (Burgess, Limb and Harrison 1988a, 1988b) have been developed.

Transferring such methodologies to tourism studies and the consumption of place by travellers would appear to be an obvious step. The fact that there is a sparse literature on qualitative methodologies in tourism studies demands something of an explanation. In part, where qualitative research has been done by tourism studies, it has been extremely unreflexive about its methodologies. For example, Dean MacCannell's few words about his research practices for *The Tourist* consist of: "So I undertook to follow the tourists, sometimes joining their groups, sometimes watching them from afar through writings by, for and about them" (1989:4). Yet the possible rewards to be gained from qualitative material such as diaries, photographs, souvenirs and interviews have been noted by Dann, Nash and Pearce:

"...there has been no study which has utilised conversation sampling. Yet, in spite of the alleged accompanying high 'dross rate', such a technique could prove most worthwhile in assessing tourist satisfaction on a whole array of items...freely uttered words spoke outside the formal setting of an interview might very well have greater validity than the responses to a structured questionnaire with all its...in built biases" (Dann, Nash and Pearce, 1988:25).

Perhaps the reasons for the lack of practical enthusiasm for qualitative work are pointed to by Hartmann (1988), who undertook some participant observation work in a tourist setting. Much of Hartmann's research was covert, because of a desire not to disturb people on their holidays, and he experienced problems in investigating the transient population who passed through the resort. The relationships he had with his informants tended to be 'superficial'. The difficulties of qualitative work with tourists, not least the problems of placing someone 'under observation' at the very time when they hope to be able to leave 'home' behind and 'get away from it all', pose severe problems. Moreover, unlike the standard questionnaire or brochure analysis, qualitative fieldwork with tourists takes up a great deal of time, effort and involvement from researchers. Indeed the logistical difficulties of carrying out research with tourists played a role in shaping my own project from an early stage, as will become apparent in section 3.3.

Having explained some of these difficulties, it is worth pointing out that a limited amount of qualitative research has been carried out into tourism. Some of this has been with tourist producers, such as Pearce on a family farm tourist business in New Zealand (1990). Shelagh Squire (1994), however, used Johnson's 'circuit of culture' to conceptualise the consumption of a literary heritage site at Beatrix Potter's house in

Cumbria, England. Her methodologies involved a visitor survey with loose questions which led into brief conversations, in addition to focus groups with heritage enthusiasts. Although Squire's work successfully captures the investments placed by tourists in visiting the site, I felt as though I wanted longer with individual tourists than either questionnaire conversations or focus groups would allow. In particular I wanted to gain a biographical perspective on the importance of travel in the respondent's lives. In addition, focus groups required a skills from group co-ordinator to manage the group dynamic in such a way as to encourage a depth of conversation without producing potentially damaging emotional conflicts. At the time I did not feel as though I had this skill. Finally, focus groups were logistically problematic because of the geographic dispersion of my respondents.

A further example of qualitative research into tourism consumption is in the work of Jon May (1996). May holds a similar commitment to Burgess (1990) to listening to ordinary voices, and his in-depth interviews dealing with experiences of time-space compression amongst residents of Stoke Newington, in north London, provides a great deal of interesting material on travel and its role in individuals lives. May used a series of in-depth interviews with six respondents (usually talking about travel for one interview) in order to explore the 'everyday' construction of such concepts as 'authenticity' and 'difference'. The success of this work in exploring the ambiguities of the geographical imaginations and constructions of 'home' and 'away' amongst May's respondents demonstrates something of the ability of the methodological techniques to transfer from media to tourism geography. It is in this nascent qualitative literature on tourist consumption that I would like to place my own thesis. In the next section I turn to the qualitative methodologies I chose for my own project.

3.3.3 In-depth Interviews and Participant Observation

Both interviews and participant observation have long been recognised as the traditional methodologies of ethnographic work, and their utility in researching the world as it is experienced, understood and enacted by individuals and groups is now well established. In this sub-section I briefly outline the ways in which these methodologies are appropriate to the aims of this thesis.

I use the phrase '*in-depth interviews*' as a term which describes a 'conversational' style of interview that lasts for more than one session, and to distinguish it as a methodology from other versions of interview research which are based in more quantitative survey traditions. Here I discuss the potential of in-depth interviews to use the research process as a part of a strategic and contextualised dialogue in which specific imaginative geographies and knowledges are used in the narration of identities by the participants. In-depth interviews are part of an exchange in which the representations used are not some

kind of 'truth', but are part of a conversation in which accounts of the world are produced. According to Cook and Crang:

"[e]thnographers cannot take a naive stance that what they are told is the absolute 'truth'. Rather, they/we are involved in the struggle to produce *inter-subjective truths*, to understand why so many versions of events are produced and recited. It is the ways in which people make sense of the events around them, and render these 'true' in their own terms, that is most revealing about how their/our lives are embroiled in larger social, cultural, economic and political processes. Therefore, stories told in the research encounter are not simply to be regarded as means of mirroring the world, but as a means *through which* it is constructed, understood and acted upon" (Cook and Crang 1995:11).

In-depth interviews attempt to establish a degree of openness to the research process, providing time and space for the participants in the interview to use and elaborate on a number of issues, positions, concerns and identities. Such interviews attempt to hand over some of the control of the interview to the interviewee by running to a loose format which can easily be adjusted as the interview continues. In particular the technique allows the research subject -- in my case the traveller -- a great deal more freedom to narrate themselves in ways with which they feel comfortable. This is not to say that control is handed over, as clearly a large number of interventions are made by the interviewer who plays a powerful role in directing the course of conversation. Nevertheless, interviewees have some potential to block out, ignore, by-pass, contest and reformulate these interventions (Plummer 1983). At times, the ability of the interviewee to position the interviewer into certain identities results in a loss of control, and there were certainly moments when I felt I was either struggling to, or was unable to, or decided not to assert control (see Chapter 6). As in-depth interviews take place over more than one session, the rapport and trust built up over time often means that the ability of the interviewee to challenge the views of the interviewer is increased as time goes on (May 1996).

Although the control of the researcher is reinscribed during the process of writing, at least during the interview there is some semblance of a mutually-constituted investigation (Kneale 1996). To this extent, in-depth interviews do provide a number of benefits for interviewees. As McCracken (1988:28-9) notes, this is because interviews provide the respondent with an unusual form of sociability. In addition to their questions of me, interviewees had the opportunity to talk to a conversational partner who did not take as many 'turns' as usual. McCracken argues that interviews "include the opportunity to make oneself the centre of attention, to state a case that is otherwise unheard, to engage in an intellectually challenging process of self-scrutiny, and even to experience a kind of catharsis" (1988:29), although researchers should be aware of how far they want to take on the role of 'counsellor' (Burgess et al. 1988a). However, given that tourists and travellers are often held up as figures of fun, particularly as 'travel bores' who spend hours showing photos of their trips, the interview provided an opportunity to be heard which some interviewees clearly welcomed.

In addition to handing over some control to the interviewee, in-depth interviews also provide the opportunity for interviewers to recognise the ways in which their interventions play a role in positioning the interviewee. Far from providing a 'bias' to interviews, the dynamics of the interview are part and parcel of understanding the ways in which travellers deploy specific discourses in the narration of identity. Transcriptions of the interview show utterances as part of a dialogue between two people, where representations are used to produce identities within a specific context. Recognising the role of these representations within the interview highlights to the researcher the limits of the knowledge produced in the interview situation, and therefore the limitations of what can be said in writing up the research.

Participant observation, as the fundamental technique of ethnographic research (for examples within geography see Evans 1988, Keith 1992, Crang 1994b) needs little introduction, but it is worth contextualising within the aims of this thesis. As I argued in Chapter 2, the 'translation' of Others involved in the practices of travel take on a number of different forms and media. Some of the uses of travel for identity are made through discursive representations in the form of travel stories which can be told in the interview situation and beyond. However, travel also consists of a wide diversity of non-discursive and embodied practices which cannot be translated through the in-depth interview.

This is not to argue that participant observation somehow provides direct access to events which are only represented during the interview. Participant observation has its own practices and politics of 'translation'. Just as the meaning of discursive statements cannot simply be 'read off' from the interview transcript, so meanings cannot be simply 'read off' from the practices of travel. Rather practices have to be set within the context from which they emerge in order to think about the specific meanings they are given by the participants. This means that researchers play a role in the construction of the practices which they observe, as they are part and parcel of the context. In particular, the practices which the researcher is able to represent depends on the identities that he or she is able to enact. Participant observers operate on the border line between being an insider and outsider (Evans 1988:200), and the ways in which researchers enact their role within a given community leads to the knowledge they are able to produce. How researchers manage their identities is therefore a crucial part of the participant observation process to which I will return in the next section.

The argument that the 'truths' of participant observation are produced inter-subjectively between the researcher and the researched also points to the limitations of participant observation. The meanings that travel practices hold in the construction of identity is not easy to ascertain. Firstly, practices have ambiguous meanings which are further translated

as they are placed into the discourses of field notes. Fixing the meanings of practices through writing is not a task to be undertaken lightly. Practices always evade such fixings, and are continuously open to contestation by others. Secondly, travellers use travel practices to narrate identities which stretch into social spheres well beyond those accessible to the participant observer. It is not only the researcher who operates on the border of a 'community', but the researched, too. Travellers are involved in other contexts, such as families, work, clubs, friendship groups, all of which may play their part in giving meaning to travel practices but which are 'outside' the experience of the participant observer (Cook and Crang 1995).

3.4 Practices of Qualitative Fieldwork with Tourists

In this section, my aim is to set out the research practices I used to construct knowledge about travellers to Peru for the purposes of this thesis. My account of these practices divides them into three stages, although the work within each stage often overlapped with others. Given the substantial lack of a tradition of writing about qualitative research within tourism studies, very few accounts exist of the research strategies which can be used in carrying out fieldwork with tourists. This section is not only to provide the reader with a contextual account of my research practices, but to give enough detail to contribute to a growing literature on qualitative work with tourists (see Squire 1994, May 1996).

To introduce in brief the general chronology of the research, the *first stage* consisted of a broad-based background survey of tourism in Latin America which I undertook between April 1994 and April 1995. This had four main aims: firstly, tracing the background to the systems of provision (Fine and Leopold 1993) of tourism, from production to consumption, over a broad scale. This included a survey of tourist companies offering trips to Latin America, reading their customer literature, researching the products offered, and collating knowledge about the social groups who consume these products. Secondly, I conducted a number of pilot interviews with travellers through which I acquired interviewing skills, and built up a picture of the issues that could be addressed through in-depth interviews. Thirdly, I recruited participants for the in-depth interviews. This meant developing a number of recruitment strategies both in Britain and in Peru which would produce a suitable social mix of travellers willing to talk about their experiences.

The *second stage* consisted of a period of fieldwork in Peru in April and May 1995. The main aim of visiting Peru was to carry out a period of participant observation in Lima, Cusco, Machu Picchu and Lake Titicaca, and included two weeks on a group tour organised by the British travel company, Explore Worldwide Limited. My trip to Peru was also used to complete the first stage of work, providing the opportunity to interview a number of travel companies in Peru, as well as carrying out corporate interviews with

officials at the state tourist board (FOPTUR), and at the *Dirección Nacional de Turismo*, the government department responsible for tourism development within the Ministry for Tourism, Industry and Commerce (Mitinci). The trip also provided a further opportunity to recruit participants for the in-depth interviews. The *third stage* of the project consisted of the in-depth interviews, carried out in Britain between June and October 1995 after the participants had visited Peru. I recruited fifteen people for the study, each of whom agreed to two interview sessions of approximately ninety minutes each. This resulted in about forty hours of tape-recorded interviews. The following sub-sections follow the broad chronological timing of my fieldwork research, dealing with: the recruitment of participants, participant observation, interviewing practices, analysis and writing.

3.4.1 Recruitment of Participants

The recruitment of participants was probably the biggest hurdle faced in my project, and it is worth outlining the strategies I used not only because they provide an account of the 'gateways' into the sphere of travel upon which this project is based, but may be of use for future qualitative research involving tourists. Finding tourists who were willing to talk is one of the major problems in the development of a qualitative tradition which deals with tourist consumption, as people are generally unwilling to have their free time interrupted by the presence of an individual who calls their practices into question.

As far as visitors to Peru were concerned, I could recruit tourists either in Britain, or during the course of their trip whilst they were in Peru. I attempted to recruit travellers at both stages through a number of strategies.

(1) *The Tag Questionnaire*: From April 1996, during the first stage of my project, I found the main problem with recruiting tourists once they had returned home was that they were very often geographically dispersed and had few institutions through which recruitment publicity can be targeted. The only exception is the institution through which virtually all travellers have to pass in visiting Peru: the travel agency. The most obvious way of recruiting participants would be to ask the travel agent to release the names and addresses of people to whom they had recently sold trips to Peru. Unfortunately, although unsurprisingly, travel agents are reluctant to release such information, especially to a young researcher. Travel companies are unwilling to circulate knowledge about customers who have been 'won' only through considerable expenditure in terms of time and money, and where results could end up in the hands of their competitors. Moreover, travel companies are extremely reflexive about the trustworthy and competent identities they perform for travellers. It was a considerable risk to their professional reputation to open up their records to an untried researcher, and the study might prove intrusive to their customers.

To get around these problems, I produced a 'tag questionnaire' (see appendix 2), which could be sent by the travel agent to customers, so avoiding the necessity to reveal names and addresses. The questionnaire could be sent for free in most instances, as travel companies often target travellers with customer satisfaction and holiday evaluation surveys, as well as post-holiday advertisements. The 'tag questionnaire' fulfilled a dual function for my own research. Firstly, it provided the opportunity to conduct a broad sociological survey of recent visitors to South America, and whilst this by no means fulfilled the requirements for reaching statistically representative conclusions, it nevertheless provided a quick and simple way of getting to know the social range of potential participants in the project. There were limitations to this knowledge, as companies did not send mail-shots to flight-only, independent travellers. The main function of the questionnaire, however, was to encourage travellers to take part in the project. The questionnaire asked about motivations for visiting Latin America, and about travel experiences. At the end information was given about the in-depth interviews and the traveller was asked to provide their name and address if they wished to take a further part in the project.

Despite offering to write a short research report which travel companies might find useful, negotiating the co-operation of the travel industry proved to be time consuming, and the return of questionnaires was extremely slow. In total I contacted seventeen travel companies, and eventually negotiated a 'tag questionnaire' with three (South America Experience, Wildlife Discovery and Trips Worldwide). Four hundred and fifty questionnaires were sent out to these companies for distribution to their customers from July 1994 onwards. By November 1994 only twenty questionnaires had been returned. At this point I decided to try new methods of recruitment. Questionnaires continued to be returned throughout the year, and in fact by July 1995 some fifty five had been returned, of whom forty five people who had visited Latin America agreed to be interviewed. Of those who agreed to be interviewed, fifteen had visited Peru. Eight of these returned questionnaires formed the basis of my total of ten pilot interviews (the other two were friends of friends), which I carried out before I went to Peru in March 1995. Seven others travellers either withdrew from interviews or were unavailable. I included two of these pilot interviews in the final fifteen participants.

(2) *The Advertisement:* I placed a number of advertisements, including information about my project and a request for interviewees, with a variety of different institutions. These included the Anglo-Peruvian Society, Student Union travel clubs, the South American Explorers Club, the Peruvian Embassy, the Lonely Planet guide, and the Traveller's Fair held at the Islington Business Design Centre in January 1995. Only one interviewee was recruited through this route, although in the end an advertisement placed in *Papagaio*, a magazine produced by Journey Latin America, in June 1995 proved to be the most

successful recruitment strategy of all. *Papagaio* is widely read as Journey Latin America are the largest retailer specialising in Latin America in Britain, and the magazine often features well known travel writers, such as Richard Gott, the literary editor of *The Guardian*. *Papagaio* is, in itself, part of an interesting marketing strategy by Journey Latin America: one of the ways in which a niche market company attempts to lengthen its reach into the consumption process is by encouraging a culture of travel and an enthusiasm for Latin America. As a magazine with a 'literary style', *Papagaio* generates a great deal of goodwill for projects involved with Latin America, and so my advertisement received many responses. Unfortunately, the edition containing my advertisement was published too late, as I had recruited sufficient participants by other means by this time.

(3) *Recruitment in Peru*: Having failed to recruit sufficient participants in the UK, and with the decisions to focus on Peru taken following my workshop in November 1994 (see Chapter 4), recruiting participants during their trip to Peru became an imperative. In part, my approach to recruiting in Peru was relatively formal, as I produced a hand-out for places where tourists frequently visited. At first I attempted to do this at Sacsayhuamán, an Inca site within walking distance of Cusco, using a 'tag survey' to engage tourists' interest. It became clear that the 'tag survey' wasted tourists' time and got in the way of their experience of the site, so I used Cusco airport instead, a space where people seemed more willing to be disturbed. However, only two travellers out of approximately forty I approached contacted me on return to Britain.

My main recruitment strategy in Peru was more informal, and quite simply consisted of asking the travellers and tourists I got to know whilst I was there if they would be willing to be interviewed about their trip. It was virtually impossible to gain access to older, richer tourists on bespoke tours whose individual visits were short, who tended to socialise in more expensive establishments, who were older and who tended to form a closed group, often as a married couple. But this strategy was effective with both independent and group travellers. It was reasonably easy to meet independent travellers as my budget meant that I was staying in hostels and eating in cafes which were used by this group. Equally, gaining access to group travellers meant becoming a group traveller, and many members of the Explore group in which I participated volunteered to be interviewed. There were obvious ethical problems with this sort of recruitment strategy, in the potential misuse of friendships to coerce participants into agreeing to be interviewed. The issue centred on my presentation of an identity as a researcher whose subject was the very people with whom I was 'on holiday'. As most people initially assumed I was a traveller, and therefore that any interaction was based on a similarity of intention with no obligation to continue the relationship, the sudden revelation of an ulterior motive for getting to know a person, accompanied by pressure to agree to an interview could be seen as a betrayal of trust. In addition, this sort of recruitment could

have led to interviews with reluctant participants. But at the same time, given the demands of participant observation, I did not want to fully reveal my motives for talking to tourists, due to the unwelcome pressures observation could have placed on individuals who knew they were the 'object of study'. The demands of participant observation and the necessity to recruit for the interviews, sat uncomfortably with each other both logistically and ethically at times. Having to undertake just one or the other would certainly have been more comfortable for me.

In recruiting for the in-depth interviews, I attempted a careful and highly reflexive strategy of identifying myself as a researcher to potential participants, which provided a number of opt-outs from the relationship. I made clear from an early point in each relationship that I was involved in researching tourism in Peru. This usually led to a discussion of my project at some point, where I identified myself as researching tourist consumption. In talking about interviews, I attempted to take some pressure off individuals by stressing that I already had some recruits. Some people I talked to did volunteer at this point and two people even approached me spontaneously, having heard through friends about the project.

My presentation of myself and the project within the Explore group had to be extremely carefully handled over the two weeks of the trip. Two people offered to be interviewed as we were discussing my project during the trip. At the final meeting of the Explore group in Lima I said to everyone that some members had volunteered to be interviewed, and that I wanted to give an equal opportunity to all group members to be involved in the project if they wished. Upon passing a list of names and addresses supplied by the group leader, everybody present in the group ticked their name to indicate they wanted to take part. This made me suspect that the group situation had pressurised people into agreeing to be interviewed (Cornwall 1984). Consequently, I added an further stage of volunteering on return to Britain by sending a letter which made clear the demands that would be placed on participants in the project. Indeed, several people did drop out at this stage but I felt happy that, on the whole, the participants who agreed to be interviewed were keen to take part in the project.

(4) *Other strategies in Peru:* Apart from talking to travellers in Peru, I also advertised my project informally, asking volunteers to contact me on their return to Britain. Several tourist companies in Peru agreed to on a flier to tourists, and several hostels allowed me to place adverts on their notice boards. This proved to be relatively successful as I received several replies from travellers who agreed to be interviewed after discussing the project with me. One participant, who I later met in Lima, was recruited in this way.

3.4.2 Practices of Participant Observation

During the time I spent carrying out participant observation in Peru, it rapidly became apparent that my task was not one of writing down 'observations' of tourist practices in Peru which could then be 'analysed' on return home. The construction of participant observation as the systematic collection of observed events disguises the decisions the researcher is making about the subject matter which should come under his or her gaze. Inevitably, the participant observer is making decisions about the importance of involving themselves in, and taking notes on, certain situations. The events which are recorded are picked out as being noteworthy and significant because of theories and ideas which the researcher already has in mind. Like the tourist gaze, the academic gaze is structured by other and far-distant social situations. The systematic accumulation of facts which renders 'the tourist' visible is therefore impossible. Instead, I saw my period of participant observation as part of an ongoing process of thinking about tourism, through which I attempted to produce a sensitive contextualising account of tourist practices.

This meant that during the time I was in Peru, I tried to involve myself in situations which I thought would be of interest to the 'theories' of tourism I was building. I tried to be open to revisions of my 'gaze', by being receptive to thinking about events which I had not previously thought of as important. This meant that my practices of participant observation changed as my interpretations of tourism developed. Explanation was not an 'after-the-event' occurrence, as analysis of everyday events was integral to the process of fieldwork. By focusing on new themes, and involving myself in situations where I could address those themes, I found that my time in Peru was probably one of the most intense and thought-provoking periods of time I spent researching travellers.

The overall strategy of participant observation was, then, to involve myself in situations which would furnish effective reformulations in the ongoing process of producing an account of tourist practices. This meant taking part in a variety of tourist experiences, such as taking day trip excursions, visiting tourist sites, being part of a group of tourists. Participant observation ranged from taking the two week Explore trip, to going on a coach for a day at a local village market, to going to the zoo in Lima. Apart from these deliberate plans, I also 'came across' experiences I shared with tourists simply because of my position as a European who was unfamiliar with Peru. I was continuously treated as a traveller by most people, and even ordinary events such as eating in a cafe or flying from Lima to Cusco could be used as part of my ongoing interpretation of tourist practices and experiences.

My attempts to share experiences with tourists does not mean that I was totally an 'insider'. There were differences between me and other travellers in the terms of the time I had to do 'tourist activities'. A great deal of my time was spent carrying out corporate

interviews, putting up recruitment advertisements or going to the airport to talk to people. This set me apart from other tourists, with whom I could not always join in or talk about our experiences of Peru. Moreover, explaining my research to others meant that I was set apart from traveller culture. My identity as a researcher meant that I was positioned in a variety of ways by others, for example as having greater understanding of Peru, not being 'just a tourist', as someone who was boring because they were working rather than on holiday, or as someone who had an interest in critiquing tourists. Given the intensity of work which went into negotiating relative statuses amongst independent travellers, revelations about 'academic' identities could cause problems in an already complex situation.

Probably the most important part of the ongoing process of developing an account of tourists through participant observation was keeping a diary, not only because of the knowledge contained within it but also because writing provides a means of reflexivity towards research issues. In general, I remembered events during the day which meshed with issues I was considering at that time, and wrote down the material within a day. However, on occasions when I was intensely involved in group activity, it became necessary to keep a small notebook in which I could scribble key words to trigger thoughts for the diary. Whilst walking on the four day Inca Trail with the Explore group, for example, it was impossible to write a diary, and I had a long series of key words which had to be left several days before they could be written up. This was partly in order to keep my notes secure from other group members, but it was also to prevent me losing my notes (I regularly photocopied notes for sending back to Britain for safe keeping).

Apart from providing experiences for 'theorising' about tourism, my participant observations also gave a certain level of familiarity with some of the people I interviewed, such that the interview became part of a longer dialogue over time. It also meant that I was able to build up background information on participants in interviews, such as their travel history or their expectations in visiting Peru. It provided me with shared experiences and knowledge which I was able to draw on at the interview stage. I discuss this further in the next sub-section on interviewing practices.

3.4.3 Practices of in-depth interviewing

In this section I discuss the strategies I used in the in-depth interviews, including the selection of participants and the actual discursive practices of the interview itself.

(1) *Selection of Interview Participants:* Having carried out a total of ten pilot interviews before I went to Peru (single interviews with five travellers and double interviews with five other travellers), I decided that the best format for interviews was two sessions of approximately ninety minutes each. Participants seemed unwilling to take part in longer

sessions, yet three hours seemed sufficient to place interviewees as individuals within multiple contexts. As Cook and Crang point out, multiple interviews "are much more like informal conversations...in which both parties feel more able to reveal their often undecided, ambiguous, and contradictory feelings about the matter in hand and to challenge each other about these in an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust" (1995:46). The advantage, however, of doing two interviews, was that I could also include a relatively broad spectrum of travellers with a variety of expectations about what travel has to offer. Given that three of my initial pilot interviews seemed to have enough material within them about Peru to merit their inclusion in the transcript analysis, I decided that a total of fifteen people, giving approximately forty five hours of interviews, would provide an ample amount of material with which to work.

The participants in the interviews were not selected as a representative sample of a 'parent group' of travellers from Britain to Peru. Mitchell (1983) points out that the generalisability of qualitative material has often been mistaken for that of statistical research. Mitchell argues that in statistical work, a correlation between two variables in a representative sample, such as between age and amount of money spent on holiday, is generalisable to a parent population within the given boundaries of statistical significance. However the explanation for the links between these two variables is a matter of the 'convincingness' of theory. Mitchell argues that the 'validity' of qualitative research lies in its ability to be used heuristically in the exploration of theory. Mitchell goes on to say:

"There is absolutely no value in going to a great deal of trouble to find a 'typical' case: concern with this issue reflects a confusion of enumerative and analytical modes of induction. For general purposes any set of events will serve the purpose of the analyst if the theoretical base is sufficiently well developed to enable the analyst to identify within these events the operation of the general principles incorporated within theory" (Mitchell 1983:204).

The value of selecting individual participants for interviews was, then, not in their 'typicality', but because they provided 'interesting' ways of using travel discourse which both affirmed and challenged ideas I took to the research situation. This meant it was more important to interview a broad spectrum of travellers who visited Peru in different contexts, rather than travellers who represented the ways in which 'most' travellers visit the country.

The three main categories I wanted to ensure I covered were: independent, group and bespoke travellers (see Chapter 4 for an account of the different ways in which these travellers visit Peru). Within these groupings, I interviewed seven independent travellers, six group travellers and two bespoke travellers. I interviewed nine women and six men, and the age range within each grouping broadly reflected a general range of ages for that particular sort of traveller. Although I concentrated on travellers who visited Peru from

Britain, I did not attempt to delimit travellers in terms of nationality. Two of the travellers I interviewed had spent their childhood in Australia and New Zealand respectively (although they both held British passports at the time of interview). This seemed to me to be a useful way of breaking open notions of a 'bounded' British culture, and to present the ways in which Britain is constructed as a 'home' through the practices of travel by different social groups living within Britain. I tried to include participants from a variety of locations around Britain, reflecting regional difference in order to think about the ways in which the context of difference in Britain lead to different ideas about 'home', 'away' and identity. Three of my interviewees lived in the north of England, one in the Midlands, three in the south-east, one in the south-west, five in London and one in Scotland. The number of participants from London in part reflects the large market for long-haul trips which exists in the capital, but was also a reflection of my need to ease the logistics of organising and carrying out interviews over a short space of time.

There were further issues in selecting participants. I wanted to recruit participants who had *recently* visited Peru. Ten of the interviewees went to Peru in 1995, and four in the summer of 1994 or, in other words, within one year previous to the interview. However one person who took part in a pilot interview had visited Peru five years earlier. This interview was revealing about the long-term uses of travel because the traveller had spent nine months in South America. Her trip had obviously made for a longer-term investment than others who had been for two weeks, and was still meaningful to her life at the time of interview. I decided to include the interview because it provided interesting material. A final issue in selecting participants was that I relied heavily on the Explore trip for group travellers. This means that the dynamics of the group were important in terms of those who volunteered and those who were not interviewed. In order to keep the momentum of this chapter I describe the background of the Explore group in the next chapter, where I also comment on the selection of group travellers for interviews in more detail.

(2) *Interviewing Practices*: The in-depth interview does not seek to replicate the same conditions and questions with each informant, but rather attempts to open up a space in which representations of place and identity can be developed. This meant using discursive practices and identities on my part which would open up such a space. This sort of interview practice could be criticised for the 'false' role played by the interviewer, but within the dialogue of the interview the social identities of both interviewee and interviewer are produced and renegotiated as the conversation proceeds. I was involved in making decisions about my identity as a researcher, interviewer and traveller during the interview. For example, I tried to ensure that I neither deliberately misled nor knowingly intimidated interviewees. I took the opportunity to close down lines of conversation if I wanted to move on to other topics which I thought useful to my project. Nevertheless, the ways in which interviewees positioned me was to some extent out of my control. This could be as

simple as silences into which I was unable to resist breaking, or it could mean being positioned in ways with which I felt thoroughly uncomfortable (see section 6.4)

In practical terms, the biggest task of the interview process was to think up a series of questions and issues which could open up the space for interviewees to respond. I usually provided an interview schedule to the participants a few days in advance of the first interview (see appendix 2) covering the main themes about which I wanted to talk. As well as giving the participants some time to think about my aspirations for the interview, I hoped the proforma would also reassure the interviewee that my questions would not be 'difficult' (although in one case it had the opposite effect). Thinking about topics for the interview was similar to the ongoing process of thinking reflexively about travel that I described in relation to participant observation. My thoughts about travel had been developed through reading, through the pilot interviews, through my time in Peru and continued up to the final interview. To aid this process of reflection, I wrote a report after each interview, detailing the context of the interview (the place, interruptions etc.), how I thought the interview had gone, and interesting points that I thought had been raised.

The general structure of the interview was to build up a level of trust throughout the ninety minutes, moving on to more sensitive issues as time went on, and finishing on a note which would 'round off' the discussion. The first interview usually consisted of a chronological account of the trip to Peru, starting with the decision to go to Peru and finishing with the end of the trip. The second interview was designed to set the trip to Peru within the wider context of the participant's life and history. It usually started with a discussion of 'travel histories' from first trips abroad to visiting Peru, and included issues such as travel and work, or travel and families. The interview ended with a discussion of future travel ambitions and fantasies.

I did have some dilemmas about whether to include a period in the interview looking at photographs. Photographs are often an important way of representing places in tourist practices, and the imaginative geographies of Peru which are circulated by travellers returning to Britain are at times highly mediated by the technology of the camera. However, I did not want to deal with the visual interpretation of photographs, and during pilot interviews talking about photographs had taken up a great deal of time. I decided that photographs should provide a way into other topics rather than a focus for discussion in their own right. I suggested that participants had a selection of photographs on hand if they wanted, and individuals often referred to photographs to illustrate a point. Talking about photography proved an interesting topic, covering issues such as taste (slides, prints or nothing?), travel ethics (asking and paying local people for photographs?), travel competence (how to take a good photo), and narrative (how to show people photographs).

The interviews were held about a week apart, either in participants' homes, in cafes or pubs, or in offices in the Department of Geography. Most interviews were one-to-one, but I did carry out joint interviews with two couples who had time pressures, which worked extremely well. Three interviews were carried out over the telephone. I experimented with telephone interviews in the pilot interviews and found them to work well. Most of my respondents were entirely used to discussing issues on the telephone, from either their professional or personal lives, and seemed perfectly comfortable with the situation. For me, it eased the pressures of organising interviews which were geographically dispersed and limited by time and money. Inevitably, though, the telephone interviews were different to those conducted face-to-face. In general, they were slightly shorter. Pre- and post-interview chats were often (though not always) kept to a minimum, and during the interview it was much more difficult to sustain pauses than face-to-face, no doubt because body language could not be used to signify a pause for thought. But there were also some advantages to telephone interviews; for example I found it much simpler to follow the 'plot' of the interview as it was easier to scribble notes to myself than it was in face-to-face interviews.

To finish off this section, I briefly want to discuss the connections between participant observation and the interviews. There is no doubt that participant observation provided huge advantages for carrying out the interviews. Although three hours is a relatively short period of time when issues of identity are at stake, the participant observation could be used in ways which made the interviews an extremely productive time. Firstly, my time in Peru provided *shared knowledge and experiences*. At a simple level this meant that interviewees did not have to waste time on basic information, such as describing the location of tourist sites. But, at a different level, it meant that I was able to identify with some quite specific moments which were related to me, as I knew the context and many of the nuances of what the informants were describing. In addition, I had been able to build up a degree of contextual information about the participants, such as their job, their family background and their travel history. Secondly, through talking to participants in Peru I built up some *trust and familiarity* between us. At a simple level, this made the logistics of the interviews much easier to organise as people were often willing to be flexible about interview times. But the trust generated at an earlier stage meant that we were able to talk about topics which might not normally be achievable within three hours. Thirdly, my experiences of travelling in Peru meant that I could ask more *effective questions*. Many of the ideas I had about topics for the interview came from chatting to travellers in Peru, and from my own thoughts about my experiences. It also meant that I could introduce specific topics I wanted to talk about through discussing concrete situations. For example I knew that issues of authenticity had been raised by the Explore group on visiting the Uros Indian reed islands on Lake Titicaca. Finally, the friendships I

made with several respondents meant that I talked to them *beyond the interview* in their houses, over drinks and meals, or through photographs and slides. This often gave me a much fuller picture of individuals than could be achieved through an interview alone.

3.4.4 Analysis and Writing

From the research practices I have described above, it should be apparent that the divisions between research and analysis are not quite so clear cut as this separate section implies. The construction of a theoretical account of long-haul tourism to Peru cuts across all the research practices I have discussed. This section, then, deals with the part of that process which involves reflecting on the material collected during the course of the project. But firstly, I want to deal with the theoretical problems for analysis raised by the 'double hermeneutic' (Morley 1992).

The double hermeneutic refers to the 'translations' that take place in the act of interpretation, as the researcher interprets the interviewees' interpretations of their experiences. Clearly, there are different acts of interpretation between participant observation, where analysis involves interpreting the researchers' account of practices, and in-depth interviews which involve interpreting in the interpretations of the interview. The analysis carried out for this project does not objectively recuperate tourist experiences. Rather, it is *an account of interpretations of tourist experiences*. It might therefore seem as though nothing can be said about tourist experiences which lay hidden under layers of interpretation. The point, however is to build up a picture of the connotations and implications of travel practices by placing utterances and actions within the contexts that make them meaningful. Geertz (1993) calls this "thick description", the process by which meanings are made from contextualising the material of ethnographic research. In particular, it is important to include the presence of the researcher in this process of contextualisation, and to recognise the role played by researchers in the discursive and non-discursive practices of making meaning: "What is seen as unavoidable bias by the positivist is acknowledged by the hermeneutician as an inescapable part in the formation of knowledge" (Duncan and Ley 1993:8, Kneale 1996:85).

The first stage in the practices of making meaning from the 'texts' produced by the research I have described is transcribing the interviews, which were recorded using a tape recorder with a distant microphone. This was a long and laborious process, taking about eight hours for every hour of interview. Fortunately I had assistance in transcribing from an audio-typist, but even then editing transcripts took approximately another three hours per hour of tape. The second stage was a general reading of the transcripts. This meant working through the transcripts, scribbling notes in the margins at the side and building up a general picture of what had been happening in the interviews. During this first reading I produced an 'interview summary', where I summarised the main topics that had

been covered in the interview, including the main points of the dialogue. From this reading and the interview summaries I began to build up files of sections of dialogue which covered the themes I wanted to write about. I did this by using a facility in 'WordPerfect' of moving from one 'screen' (or document) to another. This meant I could read through the interviews on one screen, and, with the assistance of my interview summaries, copy blocks of text onto the accompanying 'screen'. These blocks of texts could be labelled and put into themed categories along with other blocks from that particular interview and others. In this way I built up extensive files of 'conversations' which covered broad themes.

As time went on I was able to break these files of 'conversations' down into smaller themes, moving blocks of text around within the document. The final stage was to use these blocks of conversation to form the basis of a written account. Planning the account meant looking over the blocks of conversation and working out a narrative which would encompass what I wanted to say about the block. The bits of conversation which I wanted to use as quotes could then be copied onto the screen containing the empirical chapter. It is worth pointing out that in this continuous repetition of analysis, memory plays a role which has been previously left absent from many accounts of qualitative work. McCracken (1988:43-44) calls it 'intuition', but this implies a slightly more mystical process. Quite simply, I 'got to know' the interviews as I went on with the analysis, and although I often found things I had forgotten as I went back to re-read the interviews, my memory often provided examples of points I wanted to make.

Clearly the most important phrase to elaborate on in this account of my analytical practices is the 'theme'. The development of the 'themes' of the research have been produced through an ongoing iterative process which started in readings of theory and continued through participant observation, the interview process, and into the analysis and writing. The basic requirement of these 'themes' is that they should have some sort of convincing explanative potential. Consequently, 'themes' have been constantly revised and renewed in order to draw in parts of the interviews that have been left out or reinterpreted. This means that the process I have described above has been repeated numerous times, as I have found new themes from the material or other sources. I have repeatedly built up new blocks of conversation, and reworked these conversations into new orders. I have also rewritten the empirical chapters several times. The validity of the accounts provided in the empirical chapter rests in their ability to tell a convincing story about British travellers visiting Peru.

3.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have dealt with the methodologies I used to explore issues of travel, identity, representation and practice. I have suggested two concerns in my development of

an appropriate methodology: firstly with the politics of post-colonial research and the authority of representation, and secondly with qualitative approaches which conceptualise the role of the tourist in making meaning for places. I have suggested that an appropriate methodology should be able to deal with the contextualising the ambiguous and actively positioned strategies of representation and practice that constitute travel. This has led me to conclude that a combination of in-depth interviews and participant observation provide the best methodological approach for this project. Finally, I have given a detailed account of the research practices through which I attempted to use these methodologies. Having worked through both the theoretical and methodological bases for this project, the next chapter gives some background information on tourism in Peru and the participants in my project, before I move on to the empirical chapters.

Chapter 4

Tourism in Peru: A Contextualising Account

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the necessary background information for the reader in advance of the empirical chapters, by presenting the geographical stage and the historical setting of tourism in Peru, and by saying something of the travellers who visit Peru from the UK. The first half of the chapter provides an introduction to the main tourist sites in Peru, a brief history of tourist development in the country, and background information on the institutions of the tourist industry that supply Peru as a travel product to Britain and beyond. The second half of the chapter presents the travellers. I offer a brief introduction to the travellers who visit Peru, and provides a more specific introduction to the travellers who appear in the empirical chapters of this thesis.

4.2 Tourism in Peru: geographies, histories and institutions

I focused my project on tourism in Peru for several reasons. Firstly it was to fill in gaps in work on colonial discourse theory which has mainly concentrated on North Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. This is partly because of the original focus of Said's work and partly because of Britain's role as an imperial power in these regions. Mary-Louise Pratt's (1992) is one of the few authors to write about Europe's involvement in Latin America in the post-colonial era. Following the de-colonisation of most of Latin America around 1800, Britain, in fact, played a key role as a powerful trading nation on the continent (Miller 1992), and the evidence of British connections is visible throughout Peru, from the Liverpool built steamer on Lake Titicaca to the British ex-patriot enclaves of the Lima Cricket Club. Despite the overwhelming influence of the U.S.A. in Latin American affairs, Britain remains a key player in the growing tourism market on the continent, along with France and Germany.

Secondly I focused specifically on Peru in order to delimit the scope of participant observation and interviews in my project. I wanted to deal with a particular place so that I could share similar experiences to my interviewees through visiting Latin America myself. I also wanted to be able to work through the ways in which participants used a variety of representations about the same place. Peru is a relatively popular tourist destination for visitors from Europe to Latin America, mainly because Machu Picchu is one of the iconic sites of the continent. Peru has a relatively well established and defined tourist circuit (which I will describe shortly) that is followed by all types of travellers, from independent to group to bespoke. As this circuit centres on Cusco, I was able to take part in many tourist practices by positioning myself in and around the city for most

of my time in Peru. Thirdly, tourism in Peru also provided an interesting case study because of the increasingly important role it plays in the development of the country. Peru is marketed as a new long-haul destination, with a strong focus on niche-marketed products, such as adventure holidays and eco-tourism. Because of this, the consumer cultures which are linked to the development of tourism are all important to the economy of the country, particularly in regions such as Cusco.

4.2.1 '*Bienvenido al Perú*': the geographical stage of tourism in Peru

The aim of this sub-section is to familiarise the reader with Peru as a place where, as far as the thesis is concerned, the action happens. It should give enough contextual information about the tourist sites of the country to provide a basic idea of the places referred to by the respondents in the empirical chapters.

At more than five times the size of the UK, Peru is the third largest country in South America (see figure 1). It has three main geographical areas: the *coastal strip*, containing Peru's major cities and the Pan-American Highway which links the country north to south; *the Andes* which rise up rapidly from the coast up to heights of 6000 metres (most of the Andean area is between 3000 and 4000 metres, and supports about half the country's population); and the eastern slopes of the Andes which drop into the *Amazon basin*, a sparsely populated area with few roads. About twenty million people live in Peru, with six million in Lima (figure 2). Spanish is used as the main language, although Quechua, which is spoken by several million people living in the Andes, has recently been given some official status.

Peru is open to tourists from all countries, and British visitors do not even need a visa. Armed with American dollars and a guide book, most travellers and tourists follow a fairly well established circuit around the southern half of Peru. The main centre of tourism in Peru is the Andean town of Cusco (figure 3) and its surrounding area which includes the site of Machu Picchu, an iconic image in the presentation of Peru (figure 4). Cusco is often referred to as the 'Kathmandu of South America' (Rachowlecki, 1991:168), being the hub of a South American travel network, and indeed virtually all *gringo* (a popular word used by travellers to describe themselves) tourists will spend some time there. Cusco is the former capital of the pre-Colombian Inca empire, and is said to have been founded in the 12th century by the first Inca emperor. The imposition of Spanish colonial architecture on the Inca walls provides a backdrop to a thriving, bustling town, with great numbers of hostels, restaurants, cafes, street traders, artists and travel operators.

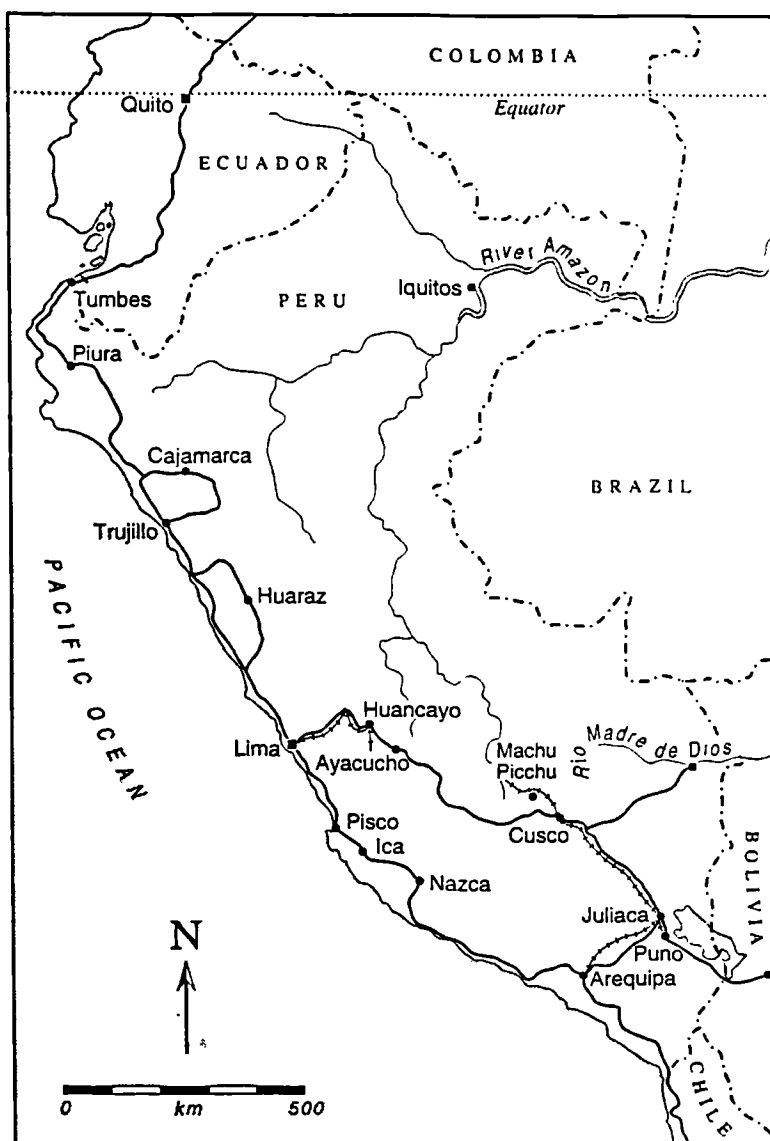
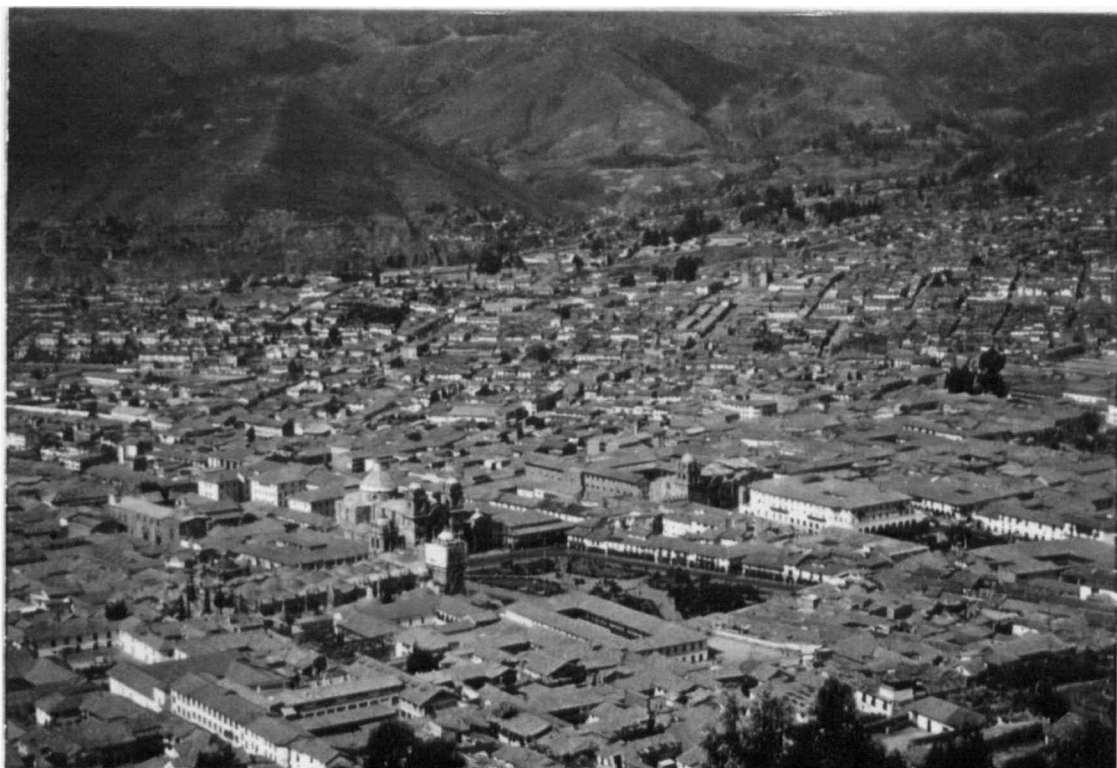


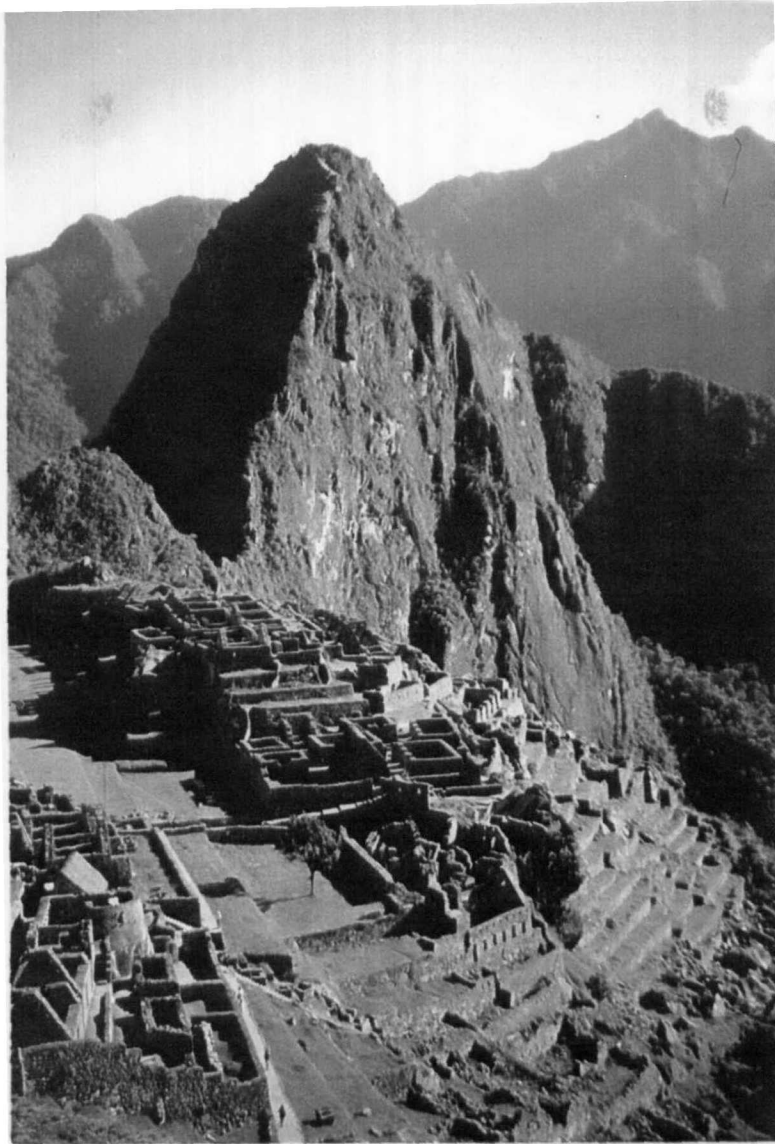
Figure 1: Map of Peru



⇒ *Figure 2.* 'Cleanliness is Life' Miraflores, Lima (LD)

⇩ *Figure 3.* View over Cusco: the Plaza de Armas and the Cathedral. (ST)





⇨ *Figure 4. Machu Picchu*
iconic image of Peru (LD)

⇩ *Figure 5. Pisac the*
market and the main square.
(ST)



In the high Andean landscape surrounding Cusco there are a number of Inca sites (see map, figure 6). Immediately overlooking Cusco there is the fort of Sacsayhuamán. The main Inca sites are in a valley about one hours drive from Cusco, known as the Sacred Valley of the Incas. Virtually all the towns in this valley have Inca ruins, from agricultural terraces to religious temples, and there is a traditional Indian market in Pisac (see figure 5), a mixture of ethnic clothes and farm produce (including coca leaves which are drunk as tea to stave off altitude sickness) which is extremely popular amongst visitors.

However it is Machu Picchu (figure 4) which undoubtedly provides the biggest attraction to the area. The Inca ruins are probably the best known of Peru's tourist sites, dramatically placed on a ridge high above the Río Urubamba, which flows through the gorge below. Machu Picchu was 'rediscovered' by a group of American historians in 1911, and for a while was thought to be the lost city inhabited by the last Incas as they retreated from the Spaniards in 1536. The site can be reached by a train ride from Cusco, following a narrow rushing gorge and surrounded by high snowy mountains, one of which, Veronica, is often referred to by interviewees. Machu Picchu can be visited on a day-trip from Cusco, but many people either stay in a hotel on the site, or in nearby Aguas Calientes. An alternative and extremely popular way of reaching the site is the Inca Trail, a four day walk along an old Inca route through the mountains and cloud forest which emerges high above Machu Picchu, having passed several other Inca ruins along the way.

The rest of the travel circuit covering southern Peru is made up of a journey along the coast, passing through Nazca and inland to Arequipa, climbing to Lake Titicaca and on to Cusco. Most visitors to Peru fly into Lima, and spend some time in the capital's Gold Museum and central Cathedral, before heading off down the coast. Popular stops are at the Ballestos Islands, a nature reserve inhabited by seals, penguins and seabirds, or the town of Pisco, the home of Peruvian brandy where visitors are treated to a 'Pisco sour', a mix of the liquor, egg white and spices. Further south down the coast, the Nazca Lines are probably Peru's second most famous site, a desert area covered in mysterious geometric lines and figures which can only be seen from the air. Various theories have been put forward to explain the lines, one of which is that the lines were landing-strips made by extra-terrestrials who established contact with ancient Peruvian cultures.

Turning inland into the mountains, Arequipa is a colonial city with white colonnades around its central square, and the snow of the Misti volcano towering above it. In the surrounding area is the Colca Canyon, claimed to be deeper than the Grand Canyon and a good place for spotting condors. Finally, before an eleven hour train ride to

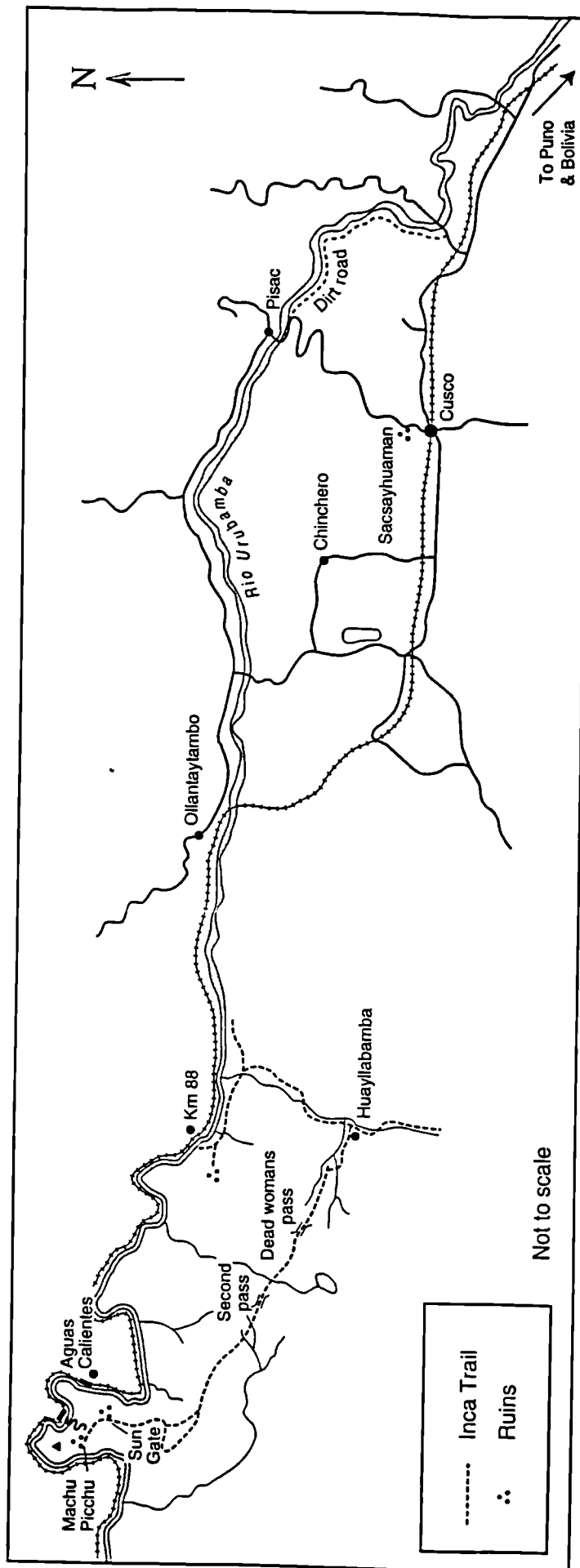


Figure 6: Map of tourist sites around Cusco



↑ *Figure 7* The Uros Islands on Lake Titicaca (ST)

↓ *Figure 8* Explore traveller meets child on the Uros islands. (ST)



Cusco to finish the circuit, is Lake Titicaca and the town of Puno. The main attraction of Puno is the chance to take a boat out onto the lake and see the floating reed islands of the Uros Indians (see figures 7 and 8). There are also the bigger islands of Amantini and Taquile, which have no electricity and offer local family houses for tourists to stay in as the people who live there will not allow hotels to be built. Variations of this tourist circuit are done by most people visiting Peru, either starting and finishing in Lima, or connecting the circuit up to Bolivia and the southern cone countries of Chile, Argentina and Uruguay by way of La Paz. Although buses are available round the circuit, these are long distances and many people fly in and out of the various towns.

While this tourist circuit is largely a conventional sight-seeing trip, there are other forms of tourism available in Peru. These can be part of the circuit: for example, Cusco has a thriving night life scene and many travellers visit it purely for the 'party' experience. Also on the circuit there are adventure trips, which can include days out doing activities such as white-water rafting or mountain biking. However, many of the 'alternative' forms of tourism are found away from the circuit. Peru is developing its eco-tourism potential in the Amazon region, with trips from Cusco to Puerto Maldonado and the Manu National Park, and further north from the Amazon city of Iquitos. Such trips include wildlife walks and journeys by boat through the river system.

Another possibility is the town of Huaráz and its national park in the mountains of the Cordillera Blanca, in northern Peru. This area is traditionally for more hardened mountaineers and climbers, with extended treks and climbs through the range. The northern coast is also another exit from Peru, with many travellers who make the South American circuit going north by bus or entering Peru coming south from Ecuador. Northern Peru is becoming popular for tourists as the Cusco region suffers increasing overcrowding. Recent articles in the UK broadsheet press have introduced Kuelap, another ruined Inca City near Tingo which is supposedly more spectacular than Machu Picchu (*The Observer* 25/5/97). New tours offered by Explore and Journey Latin America are rapidly introducing this region as *the* desirable place to visit in Peru, combining Kuelap with trips along the north coast to pre-Inca ruins at Moche and Chimú.

4.2.2 Historical Contexts: the institutionalisation of tourism

The first attempts to organise tourism in Peru beyond the confines of individual adventurers was made by the *Touring Club Peruano*, set up in 1924 for the "Promotion and Service of tourism, motoring and connected activities for the benefit of the country and in particular its members"¹ (quoted in Castillo Yui 1987:130)². Organised tourism

¹Translations from Spanish in this chapter consist of my own interpretation of the original text.

²For ease of reference, a list of resources on tourism in Peru is provided in Appendix 1.

was virtually non-existent at this time, and the club saw its main duty as arguing the case for the construction of roads which would make tourism a viable economic activity. The club also involved itself in the promotion of Peru, and took a stand to the Great Exhibition of 1930 in London.

Between 1932 and 1939 the state's first attempts to institutionalise tourism involved placing the 'industry' under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Investment and Public Works (*Ministerio de Fomento y Obras Públicas*) in order to "[A]ttend to the flow of tourists who come to Peru and especially to Cusco and the magnificent Inca monuments in the department of that name" (quoted in Villena Lescano 1993:40). Meanwhile the *Touring Club Peruano* (or the *Touring y Automovíl Club del Perú* as it became known) was charged with the promotion of Peru as a destination.

The club had taken such a major part in initiating Peru's entry into the arena of tourism that in 1939 it took over the states' role in the sector. The club knew that tourism required more than promotion and set itself the task of creating a tourist infrastructure, such as through the creation of a Guiding School (*La Escuela de Cicerones*) in 1940 and the Hotel Company of Peru (*La Compañía Hotelera del Perú*) in 1942. However the clubs' 1944 magazine raised a lament which becomes familiar to all concerned with the development of tourism in Peru: "Peru has lost, unfortunately, many years by not organising itself for the adequate reception of tourists. The last few years....have not been adequately used to advantage" (Villena Lescano 1993:43).

The state led, post-war economic plan, formulated in a period of high economic optimism, included the creation of the *Corporación Nacional de Turismo* in 1946. The *Corporación* took over all responsibility for tourism, from hotel building and the provision of tourist services and sites, to the control of prices charged by private companies and the development of the transport network. Finances were raised for the *Corporación* through taxes imposed specifically on tourist services, and money could be lent out to private investors at a low rate of interest. A huge effort was put into the development of tourism at this time. The first annual *Congreso Nacional de Turismo*, opened in 1947 by President Bustamante y Riviero, was held to formalise the tourist infrastructure and plan the development of tourism. Not only was government money put into the building of state hotels throughout the country, but a representative office was set up in New York to promote Peru to the American market (Villena Lescano 1993:44-51).

Four years of hard labour in developing tourism were brought to an end in 1950, when the *Corporación Nacional de Turismo* was liquidated by General Odría, the dictator who overthrew the elected government of Bustamante y Riviero. Odría saw tourism as an

unnecessary foreign influence in Peru, arguing that money should be spent on a social programme instead. This was a hard blow for the tourist industry to take, as responsibility was handed back to the limited resources of the *Touring y Automovíl Club del Perú*, whose main efforts were to open tourist information offices in the provinces. The club was frustrated by the lack of money being invested in tourism and in 1964 refused to continue in the sector until the state decided to take on the major decisions concerning the future of tourism in the country,

The result was the *Corporación de Turismo del Perú* (COTURPERU), set up in 1964, just in time to take advantage of the tourist boom that was taking place in the late 1960s and 1970s. In the US, standards of living were rising rapidly and air travel was becoming within the financial reach of many more people. This was Peru's first real attempt to place tourism within a national plan, aided by the National Planning Institute. A strong justification for state involvement in tourism was in the integration of Peru as a nation through travel by workers. For example, the Hotel Company of Peru gave special prices to those on low incomes. Although a great deal of emphasis was placed on internal tourism, it was at this point that Peru began to turn to incoming foreign visitors as a source of revenue for the country. Using funding from the Organisation of American States (O.A.S.), Peru contracted the services of a North American firm, Checchi and Company, to complete a study on Peru's potential in the tourism market. In 1965 Checchi concluded that Peru had excellent resources and a sound administrative structure to take advantage of the growing international tourist market, but that it still lacked an adequate infrastructure. It recommended that Peru concentrate on the Lima-Cusco-Machu Picchu circuit, with an intense programme to raise the standards of this tourist route up to an internationally competitive level.

Up to this point, foreign tourism to Peru had been growing steadily up to 113 500 visitors in 1968 (Coturperu 1968:85). The vast majority of these visitors came from either North or South America, with tourists from the United States making up nearly 40% of the total incoming visitors. There were about 3000 visitors from Britain. These figures can be used to indicate the subsequent growth in Peru's tourist industry over the next two decades but, in common with many tourist statistics they have to be treated with some caution. At one point, for example, they show a huge increase in the number of Soviets arriving by ship, which far from pointing to an increase in Russians on world cruises says something about the number of Soviet factory fishing ships in the South Pacific (Villena Lescano 1993:298).

However, the institutionalisation of tourism in Peru was again thrown into turmoil during the last years of the sixties, much to the disappointment of those in the sector who had made considerable plans for the future of tourism in the *Corporación de Turismo del*

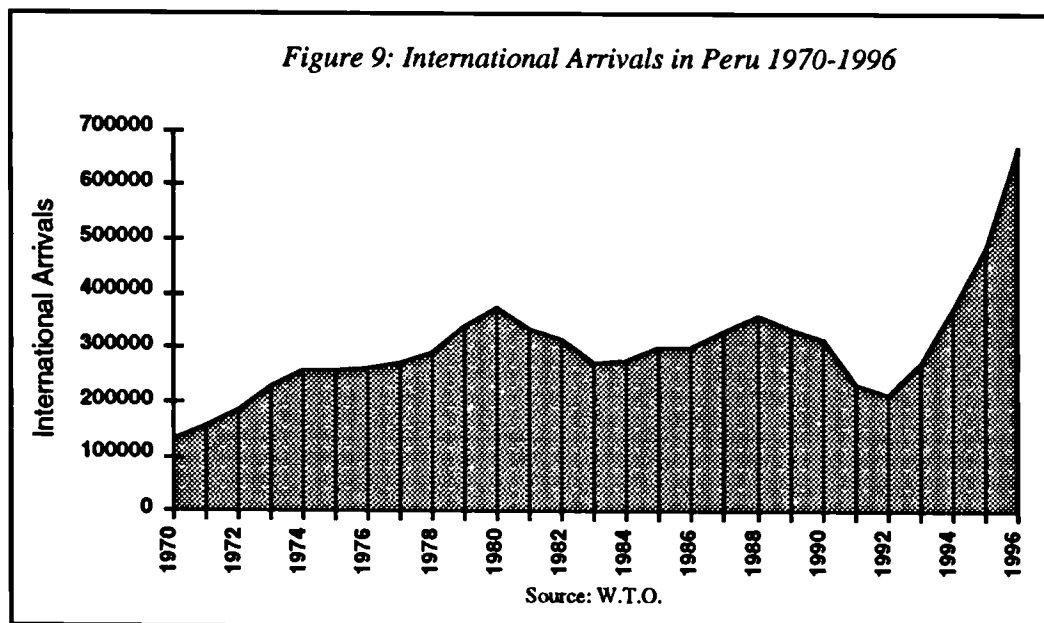
Perú. A coup d'état by General Velasco overthrew the elected government of Belaunde because it looked as though the 1969 election would be won by the left wing, radical APRA party. Velasco's centralising and nationalistic policies either 'Peruvianised' or expelled many foreign companies, and increased links to the Eastern Block. The National Tourism Company (*Empresa Nacional de Turismo*) was given the task of managing the state hotel chain, as an autonomous body within the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. Later in 1969 a *Dirección General de Turismo* was set up, again in the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. In 1978 the *Dirección's* chief official was changed from the *Director de Turismo* to the Secretary of State for Tourism in the Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Integration (MITI). In 1981, he became the Vice-Minister of Tourism in the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, Tourism and Integration (MINICTI). Tourism has remained within this basic institutional structure to the present day.

The 1970s was the period when tourism in Peru developed rapidly, becoming a central factor in the development of the country. The number of tourists visiting Peru tripled between 1970 and 1979, and income from tourism rose from \$44 million to \$201.6 million over the same period, surpassing more traditional sectors such as fishing (Peru was at one time the worlds' largest exporter of fish products) and textiles (Oficina de Estadística de Turismo MICTI 1986). There is no doubt that part of this increase came from a solid effort on the part of the Peruvian state to ameliorate the problems of infrastructure and publicity which had beset tourism up to that point. There was a 43% growth in the number of hotels between 1975 and 1980 (Universidad San Martín de Porres 1990). The state had started a new scheme of incentives for the private sector in 1968, and between 1971 and 1977 there were three initiatives to raise investment in infrastructure which funded the completion of 400 private sector projects (Villena Lescano 1993:65). This strategy continued into the 1980s when President Alan García set up the *Fomento de Desarrollo Turístico* (Investment in Tourist Development) in 1986. Furthermore the state was active in setting up the *Fondo de Promoción Turística* (FOPTUR) in 1977 to promote Peru as a tourist destination, both at home and abroad, and in launching a professional training school for future tourism entrepreneurs, the *Centro de Formación de Turismo* (CENFOTUR) in 1988.

Probably the most ambitious initiative, however, came from a joint project with UNESCO, known as the Plan COPESCO. At the time the Plan COPESCO was seen by the World Tourism Organisation to be as significant as what are today huge tourist resorts such as the Languedoc-Rousillon coast in France, or Cancún in Mexico. The beginnings of the plan were laid in 1965 when Peru asked for help from UNESCO to restore the ruins of Machu Picchu. A series of studies by UNESCO suggested the implementation of an integrated development plan for the Cusco-Puno area of Peru. The plan was to improve the infrastructure of these areas in order to provide benefits to the

local population in terms of roads, drinking water and electricity, and a source of employment and income in the tourist industry. As well as restoring various Inca sites, a number of hotel projects and an airport at Cusco were constructed, and potential tourist towns were 'spruced up'. The first stage of the plan, costing US\$100 million was 70% funded by Peru and 30% by loans from the Inter-American Development Bank, while the second stage invested a further US\$236 million into the project.

Connected with these attempts to push Peruvian tourism to its full potential was the instigation of a number of professional institutions within the private sector. The principal institute, the *Camara Nacional de Turismo* (CANATUR, the National Tourism Council) was established in 1970, which had the aim of representing the needs of the private sector to the state, and has held a yearly national conference on tourism since 1978. Its formation was accompanied by the *Asociación Peruano de Profesionales en Turismo*, for all graduates of the tourism training schools. Together with other professional bodies of guides, hoteliers, travel agents and operators a considerable amount of effort was made by the private sector to put pressure on the state to invest in tourism.



While the whiggish histories of the development of tourism in Peru tend to emphasise the efforts of the country's institutions, some are perhaps more realistic in tracing growth in the 1970s to the increasing internationalisation of Peru's tourism, and its consequent dependence on the vagaries of the international tourist market. Given the fact that the European market surpassed the United States for the first time in the early seventies, one might speculate that the growth in tourists visiting Peru in the early seventies was disrupted by the high price of travel following the oil crisis. For example the number of

British tourists increased from 4,382 in 1970 to 10,843 in 1980, yet the period 1974 to 1978 was virtually stagnant, and 1981 to 1984 was a time of fairly substantial decline in the number of British tourists in Peru (FOPTUR 1989) as the recession of the early Thatcher years bit into British spending power.

In fact it could be argued that in the 1970s and 1980s Peru (and indeed most of Latin America) failed to cash in on the growth in world tourism (see figure 10). Although the total number of tourists worldwide doubled between 1975 and 1980, Latin America remained static. Over the same period the number of tourists visiting Asia increased dramatically, and Peru's competitors in other parts of the world, such as Nepal, Thailand and Morocco all become major tourist destinations.

Figure 10: International Arrivals by Region 1975-1985

Millions of Arrivals

| | 1975 | | 1980 | | 1985 | |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % |
| Latin America | 13.6 | 6.4 | 18.8 | 6.6 | 13.5 | 4.1 |
| Asia | 12.7 | 6.0 | 26.8 | 9.4 | 43.5 | 13.4 |
| Africa | 4.7 | 2.2 | 6.4 | 2.2 | 8.0 | 2.5 |
| North America | 29.4 | 13.8 | 35.4 | 12.5 | 40.0 | 12.3 |
| Europe | 151.9 | 71.6 | 196.9 | 69.3 | 220.0 | 67.7 |
| Total | 212.3 | 100.0 | 284.3 | 100.0 | 325.0 | 100.0 |

Source: World Tourism Organisation, MICTI.

The professional literature in Peru places the blame squarely on the shoulders of the tourism institutions who failed organisationally in the exploitation of Peru's more than adequate tourist resources. Villena Lescano (1993:76) estimates that only 40%-50% of the projects part-funded by the state were actually completed. These criticisms of the tourist industry may be slightly harsh, given that there was a general stagnation in the growth of world tourism in the early 1980s, with the number of international travellers increasing by only 14% between 1980 to 1985. But Peru suffered more than most countries, with an actual decline in the number of visitors from 1980 to 1983, and little growth to 1985 (see graph overleaf). In many ways, it was extremely unfortunate for Peru that at the very moment when the sector was primed for expansion, demand fell badly.

Although tourists did come back to Peru in 1988, there was a very severe slump in 1990, which was due to two problems Peru had in marketing itself to the outside world. Firstly, there were the activities of the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), a Maoist

revolutionary group which has become well known in the West as possibly the last remaining armed political party run along Marxist-Leninist lines. *Sendero Luminoso* reached the height of its battle with the Peruvian state between 1987 and 1992, with regular terrorist attacks throughout the country, including on tourists. Lima's Jorge Chavez airport was placed on a danger list by the American authorities. In 1989, 60% of the country was under a state of emergency. A widely quoted figure to illustrate the severity of the struggle is that 18 000 people died in the 1980s (Forrest 1991:42). Most guide books at the time advised travellers not to venture out of towns, as even the countryside around Cusco was deemed to be too dangerous. In 1992, Alfred Guzman, the leader of *Sendero Luminoso*, was captured and imprisoned by the Peruvian state. Because of Guzman's self-styled position as the successor to the revolutionary leadership of Marx, Lenin and Mao, the movement has become much less active, although it is still vociferous in one particular department of the country, and carried out its first bombing in Lima for three years in May 1995. The second problem which hit Peru as a tourist destination was the outbreak of cholera in 1991. This was the first recorded case in the western hemisphere since the 1920s. Although the disease was mostly found in poorer areas of Lima and was therefore avoidable by tourists, the cholera outbreak still gained worldwide media coverage and was partly responsible for the huge decline in visitors until 1992.

In the 1990s there has been a dramatic recovery from the problems of the 1980s for the tourist industry. Peru again hit the world news in 1990, in a vital election on the battle ground between the old state left and the new libertarian right. This fairly titanic struggle was often subsumed by the fact that the new right was represented by Mario Vargas Llosa, a novelist who has been translated and greatly admired throughout much of the West for a series of novels which, along with Gabriel García Marquez and Isabel Allende, had introduced Latin American writing to American and European audiences. Peru had been ruled for five years (1985-1990) by Alan García, a left wing populist who been elected with 46% of the vote as the leader of APRA, the institutional party of the left. García undertook populist reform which involved Peruvianising foreign companies such as US oil interests. Cuts in foreign debt payments and the nationalisation of the banks were used to provide funds for a fourfold increase in the minimum wage. The resulting economic expansion briefly led to 8% growth rates, but inflation and devaluation soon followed. By 1988, Peru was in crisis. Operating under a 'War Economy' to increase exports and reduce imports, inflation was at 1200%, wages had fallen in real terms and GDP fell by 6%.

Vargas Llosa campaigned for the complete liberalisation of the economy through a programme of privatization and the excision of state bureaucracy in order to attract foreign investment which, under García, had almost totally dried up. Vargas Llosa was

surprisingly defeated in the final round of the election by a previously unknown engineer, Alberto Fujimori, whose centre-right liberalisation programme also included a promise of state support for the Peruvian poor in order to soften the blow of state withdrawal from economic activity. Fujimori's severe economic programme, known as '*El shock*' re-established foreign investment, but only at the expense of more debt repayment and huge price rises. Fujimori also waged war against *Sendero Luminoso*, and gave himself powers to rule the parts of the country worst affected, as one measure of his '*auto-golpe*' or self-coup. Following the arrest of Guzman, the *Sendero* leader, Fujimori became increasingly popular in Peru, despite constitutional changes which gave him more power as president and allowed him to stand for a second term. Peru again hit the world news during the 1995 when Fujimori banned his estranged wife from running for presidency by changing the election rules; and then by running against and seeing off the challenge of the ex-United Nations president, Javier Perez de Cuellar. Fujimori's 53% of the vote at the 1995 general election ensured that his economically liberal regime would continue, and indeed Peru has been successful in recovering from the crisis as it reached an increase of 8% in GDP in 1994. The relative stability brought to the country by Fujimori has been touched only by a brief border war with Ecuador in February 1995, and by the Japanese Embassy hostage crisis in 1996.

The return of tourism to Peru has seen it recover its lost ground of the 1980s, and there now seems to be considerable confidence that the industry is on the verge of new growth. Fujimori's liberalisation policies, however, have not left the sector untouched. In 1992 Fujimori undertook to clearly delineate the boundary between the state and the private sector in tourism. The state withdrew from its 'entrepreneurial' role. For example, part of Fujimori's vast privatisation programme has included the sale of the state hotel chain. It has also meant a huge cut in the bureaucratic state apparatus, as the Ministry of Tourism, Industry and Commerce (Mintinci) was reduced from 2700 employees in 1991 to 300 in 1995. The *Dirección Nacional de Turismo* was cut back from 270 to 16 staff over the same period (Interview 7/5/95, *Director Nacional de Turismo*). The state tourist board, FOPTUR, had its budget reduced to zero and had to present a new remit for presidential approval. The state tourist school, CENFOTUR, was kept on, but turned into a fee paying college.

Ideally the new role of the state sector would simply be legislative, as a guarantor of rights. In fact it is also involved in three other roles through FOPTUR: firstly the promotion of Peru abroad, for example in co-ordinating press and travel agency familiarisation trips through operators in Peru or by representing Peru abroad. FOPTUR now works as part of PromPeru, an agency set up specifically to counter Peru's poor international image. Secondly it kick starts tourism locations in Peru by choosing to promote a particular town for internal tourism and persuading local operators to give

special offers for that period. Thirdly it seeks to develop the quality of tourism in Peru by promoting a '*conciencia turistica*', a 'tourist consciousness' amongst Peruvians with such campaigns as '*El Turista es su amigo*', 'The Tourist is your Friend' (Interview FOPTUR, 5/4/95).

The tourism industry is now big business in Peru. Fujimori declared 1996 "the year of 600 000 tourists", and industry figures recorded 668 000 international arrivals (*The Observer* 3/8/97). In Britain Peru was voted 'Favourite country' by *Observer* readers in the *Observer* travel awards who rated their experiences above competitors such as New Zealand, Nepal and Egypt. Income from tourism has increased significantly, from \$300 million in 1992 to \$500 million in 1995 (*The Observer* 3/8/97), and most tourism professionals are optimistic about the future. Certainly Peru has the natural resources to attract tourists in the way that other Latin American countries such as Ecuador and Costa Rica have. Europeans and North Americans now have the confidence to visit Peru, and they are being supplemented by new markets, for example Peru has high expectations regarding the Japanese market due to the increasingly close economic links forged by a strong Japanese community, whose most notable figure is Fujimori himself.

The return of confidence in tourism is reflected in the fact that airlines such as Lufthansa have recently reopened flights to Lima (*El Comercio* 27/2/95:IV), and that new international hotels are being considered by Marriott, Hilton and Inter-Continental Hotels in Lima and Cusco (*Gestion* 22/3/95:7). As far as the tourism industry is concerned, new foreign investment is what is needed, and it is exactly what Fujimori intends to supply. More recently, however, the question of ecological management has arisen in Peru, although most tourism operators claim that Peru is too big, with too few tourists, to ever have environmental problems. However, in certain locations such as Cusco there is a very real threat to sites, and local operators in Cusco have already had to accept a restriction of 1500 per day on the number of visitors to Machu Picchu. For many operators, the answer is to make Peru a 'five star' tourism destinations, attracting a smaller number of people who spend more money. Peru does have its structural problems in tourism, for example over-concentration on the Cusco area (a legacy of the COPESCO Plan of the 1970s). It is also quite likely that demand for accommodation will outstrip supply over the next couple of years as the tourist infrastructure is constructed. Perhaps an even bigger problem in making the money earned by tourism to buy its legitimacy amongst those to whom it is not offering an income. Some feel that money is invested in tourism which could be better spent on badly needed social development programmes. But with its new phase of stability and reintegration into the international money markets, Peru is set for the biggest increase in tourism yet.

4.2.3 Operators, Wholesalers, Retailers: organising the tourist industry

The structure of the tourist industry which ferries people from Britain (or indeed most countries) to Peru, and in the case of group and bespoke tourists organises transport, accommodation and tours, is basically a three tier network of contacts, which I define as the operator, the wholesaler and the retailer. I briefly define these in turn:

The Operator: These are the companies or individuals who provide on the ground services to tourists at the tourist site. In the case of Peru they usually consist of a number of small specialist companies. In Cusco, for example, a company called Kantu Travel supplies nothing but adventure tourism, such as organising the Inca Trail trek, for groups of tourists. Other companies specialise in more conventional tourism, and own buses for taking groups of tourists to Inca sites. In most Peruvian cities outside Lima, hotels and other accommodation are run in a similar manner, but in Lima the growth of international hotels has moved hospitality operations into the hands of international companies.

Most operators in Peru have very few permanent staff. Apart from those carrying out administrative work, only a few key workers are employed to co-ordinate certain specialist activities. The rest of the labour needed to supply a product is contracted as and when it is needed. For example, to organise a trek, a permanent trek organiser will lead the walk, and will contract a cooking team, porters and equipment. Some of this is done extremely informally, for example porters are recruited from the area local to the trek and given a minimal wage.

Tourists do not necessarily buy an operators' services through the chain of the tourism industry, and in places like Cusco, where a lot of independent travellers pass through, the main square is like a huge 'travel agency'. Small companies compete to attract passing trade on tours, while at the same time acting as flight booking agents to the local population.

The Wholesaler: In Peru, most wholesalers are national companies who have two separate tasks. The first is to find local operators and hotel owners that they can trust to deliver the services they require, and to set up an effective booking arrangement. This involves sending agents out to various tourist locations in order to find, for example, a suitable hotel for their customers. The second task of the wholesaler is to produce an attractive package which can then be marketed to retailers, either in Peru or abroad.

Probably the more difficult of these tasks, in the case of Peru, is to market the product abroad. To do this companies may accompany the state tourist board, FOPTUR, on visits to international tourist fairs such as the World Travel Fair held every September at

Kensington Olympia in London. The function of the fair is to attract the retailer to the product. This can also be achieved through 'Familiarisation Trips', where the wholesaler will organise a free trip for a representative of the retailer in order to demonstrate their product. Press familiarisation trips are another aspect of this work.

The Retailer: In Britain, the retailer will usually have a range of wholesalers in the various different countries which they market as destinations. The task of the retailer is to find a trustworthy wholesaler, and then market the product to the public. This includes setting up booking arrangements with an airline company in order to get the customer to the site. Most trips to South America are sold by mail or phone. Latin America probably provides a classic example of fragmented niche marketing in the tourist industry. Horizontally integrated retailers, such as Thomas Cook, had withdrawn from the market by 1994, as the specialist knowledge required simply took up too many resources. The market has been invaded by a number of small companies which specialise in travel to Latin America, such as *South America Experience* or *Passage to South America*. One of these companies, *Journey Latin America* has taken a leading role in publicising Latin America to the travelling public. It is the only company with shop frontage, and recently opened a new agency in Manchester to compliment its shop in London. Other, larger companies also sell Latin America amongst their other destinations, but these tend to niche market certain specialist types of tourism. For example *Explore Worldwide* markets itself as an adventure holiday specialist, particularly in the field of trekking, whereas *Exodus* and *Dragoman* specialise more in overland bus trips.

Obviously there are exceptions to this chain, and some companies are able to integrate some of these functions under one roof. For example, certain Journey Latin America holidays, which are advertised as 'budget' holidays, cut out the wholesaler by employing a British guide in Peru who helps customers to book their own hotels and operators once they arrive at the destination. As a further example, some specialist Peruvian operators have managed to become both operators and wholesalers, by remaining small and establishing contact with one particular retailer. However this can be risky for both parties. The Peruvian company has put all its eggs in one basket, whilst for the retailer, small operators often make shabby wholesalers unless carefully managed. Some of the larger companies have vertically integrated at a minimal level, for example Lima Tours, Peru's largest wholesaler has opened an office in Cusco in order to carry out some operating functions.

4.3 Travelling to Peru: independent, group and bespoke travellers

In this section I provide a brief introduction to British travellers to Peru. In particular I provide some background information on the travellers I interviewed, especially about

the relationship between the travellers and the travel industry, and about my relationship with the travellers before they took part in the in-depth interviews. In my preliminary investigations into tourism in Latin America, many travel agents grouped travellers according to their relationship with the travel industry. In my subsequent research during the participant observations and in-depth interviews it became increasingly apparent that this grouping identified a major difference between travellers. It is worth spelling out this difference here. The next chapter provides a fuller context for these travellers' visits to Peru, and a summary description of each traveller can be found in Appendix 3.

Holidaymakers who wish to travel to Peru have three different options. Firstly, they can go *independently*, which means that they use a travel agency to book a flight to Peru or elsewhere in Latin America. In 1995, a return flight to Lima cost approximately £550. Independent travellers then find their own accommodation and transport, usually using information from a guide book. It is also worth noting that most independent travellers, at some point, do buy products from travel operators in Peru. Many travel operators in Cusco offer trips and excursions to independent travellers, from one-day tours of the Sacred Valley of the Incas, to four-day trips along the Inca Trail, to packaged visits to the Manu National park in the Amazon basin.

Secondly, travellers can book as part of a *group*, through a retailer in England. A group trip usually has fixed departure dates and an itinerary which is already arranged by the retailer and wholesaler. Effectively, as far as the travel industry is concerned, this is a package tour, with transport, accommodation and guides all pre-booked by the travel industry. A group holiday with a two week itinerary in Peru in 1995 cost approximately £1200 per person, including flights.

Finally, the traveller can book a *bespoke* holiday. With the help of the travel retailer, the bespoke traveller invents their own *à la carte* itinerary, and makes up their own travel group, usually of no more than two people. The traveller has a fairly limitless choice of where to visit, what transport to use, what accommodation to stay in, and of the dates in which they travel. The travel retailer then liaises with the wholesaler in Peru to book up the itinerary requested by the bespoke traveller. Naturally this sort of holiday is the most expensive, and is usually run by specialist Latin American travel agencies. It can cost upwards of £2000 per person for two weeks, including return flight.

4.3.1 Independent Travellers

The independent travellers I interviewed were aged between 22 and 35 years old. None were married, and none had children or other dependants. All apart from one were university graduates, and those that had employment were professionals in jobs such as accountancy, law, research science and television broadcasting, whilst one was trained

as a car mechanic. The independent travellers who participated in the interviews spent anything between one and nine months on their trip. **Cathy**, a television broadcaster, spent a month in Peru, and **Justin**, the solicitor spent two months (plus a week in Venezuela on the way home), but others included Peru as part of a longer trip around South America. For some such as **Sarah**, the oldest independent traveller, this meant taking nine months from her accountancy job to work her way anti-clockwise around South America, spending about one month in Peru. **Matt** and **Kim** travelled as a couple to see the solar eclipse in southern Peru in October 1994, and then spent nine months travelling between Chile and Colombia. The youngest travellers, **Jo** and **Jenny**, both travelled with a friend for three months, and visiting Peru was part of their three month visit to Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Ecuador.

Out of these independent travellers, I interviewed Cathy and Sarah before I went away to Peru myself, through the recruitment strategies of the 'tag questionnaire' and the advertisement at the Islington Travellers Fair respectively. This meant that much of the interviews consisted of their advice to me about my trip, rather than talking about places we had visited (see Chapter 6). I met all the other independent travellers in Peru. Jo approached me to offer to be interviewed, whilst Jenny saw one of my advertisements and later offered to take part in the in-depth interviews when she met me at the South American Explorers Club in Lima. Along with Matt and Kim, who I met in the Lima youth hostel, this meant that I spent approximately one to two hours with each of these travellers whilst we were in Peru. This was enough to understand where they had been to, where they were going, something of the experiences they had had, and the context which they had come from in Britain.

In contrast, I spent a considerable amount of time with Justin in Peru. Along with his partner, we arranged our own independent trek in the Andes near Cusco, which lasted for five days. For me, the trek was originally part of a plan to have a few days break from participant observation and recruitment towards the end of my stay in Peru. Having discussed my project during the trek, however, both Justin and his partner agreed to be interviewed. I selected Justin because more women than men had offered to be interviewed. The trek provided an excellent basis for our interviews, and indeed I spent time with Justin beyond our taped conversations, looking over photographs of our trip.

4.3.2 Group Travellers

The group travellers I interviewed were aged from their late twenties to their early sixties. Although it is possible to go on group trips which last up to three months and include a complete tour of South America, the group itineraries of the interviewees were somewhat shorter. There are a number of different tours to Peru which are marketed by several companies, ranging from two weeks visiting the main sites in Peru, to a more

extensive three week tour which includes the north coast, the Amazon rainforest, and may include some time visiting La Paz in Bolivia, which is only a short trip over the border from Lake Titicaca. Longer trips may include visits to Ecuador, the Galapagos Islands, Brazil, Bolivia and Chile. A number of more specialist trips concentrate on trekking or archaeology. For example, one of the participants in the in-depth interviews, **Margaret**, spent one week on a homeopathy herbal medicine course near Iquitos, in the Amazon basin, before moving on to the Cusco region for a week.

All the other group travellers I interviewed spent two weeks on the Explore group tour in which I also participated. Because of the importance of this tour to the project, not least in the sense that the group dynamics of the trip in some ways dictated the travellers who were accessible to the project, it is worth spending some time providing background information on the Explore tour. The trip took place from the 14 to 28 May 1995. I met up with the group in Lima, where we spent one day before flying on to Puno, on the shores of Lake Titicaca. There we spent two days sightseeing, including a boat trip to the Uros Islands on the lake, before flying on to Cusco, where we were based for the remainder of the trip. The group spent one day visiting Pisac market and ruins, and a further day on a coach tour of the ruins around Cusco and a guided walking tour of the town itself. The next section of the trip was then spent on the Inca Trail, walking to Machu Picchu, which I deal with in more detail in Chapter 7. Finally the group spent one day recuperating in Cusco, with some members going white water rafting on the Río Urubamba, before flying back to Lima and onwards to the UK.

The group consisted of nineteen people, including myself and the British guide who accompanied us all the way round our trip. Four of the group were from North America, and one from New Zealand, whilst the rest were British. The group varied in age, from myself as the youngest through a number of travellers in their late twenties, and thirties, up to an older couple in their early sixties. Professionally the group varied from younger professionals who worked in design, law, business managers, veterinary science, medicine, nursing and advertising, to older travellers, who worked as a medical scientist, a gardener, a housewife and a retired policeman.

Although there was a lot of interaction within the Explore group, as we spent time together on tours and transfers and we also ate some meals together, the group also fragmented as sub-groups went off shopping, to markets, cafes and restaurants on their own, or simply spent more time talking to each other during the course of our itinerary. The group split into three firm sub-groups, with some other travellers moving between them. Because there were no travellers in their forties, the older members of the group were fairly separate from the younger contingent. Within the latter, a sub-group formed of a number of younger women, most of whom shared professional identities as

solicitors, and another sub-group formed between two younger couples and their friends. This left three people who were loosely associated with these groups, but were largely on their own. One of these individuals became a group outcast, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

As a participant observer, I was not able to move with ease between all these sub-groups. To a large extent I was excluded from the group of younger women who shared rooms and did not, on the whole, take part in whole group conversations. Although two members of this group volunteered to be interviewed, I did not select them, partly because I needed to recruit more male participants, and partly because I felt that a good rapport between myself and the participants in the interviews was a relatively important factor in producing material which would be rich enough for analysis. As far as the older travellers sub-group was concerned, I was not able to take part in their conversations. I was able, however, to have a number of personal conversations with individual members. In particular, I established a rapport with **Molly**, the housewife in her early sixties, and **Robert**, a medical scientist in his late fifties with whom I shared an interest in trekking. Both of these agreed to be interviewed during the course of the trip.

I was more integrated into the younger persons group. Most of this group consisted of the North Americans and the New Zealander (with whom I shared a room), but it also had a young couple, **Sophie** and **Andy**, both of whom I interviewed. These two had what appeared to be an interesting attitude towards group holidays, which was slightly ironic in tone. Given recent theories of the emergence of the ironic 'post-tourist' in tourism studies (Feiffer 1985, Urry 1990, Lash and Urry 1994), I felt it would be useful to talk to them. The final group traveller I interviewed was **Jon**, who I got to know through sharing a room towards the end of the trip. Jon was in his late-thirties, an avid and loyal Explore traveller, and was one of the 'floating' travellers who got along with all the social groups but was not consistently a member of any particular one.

4.3.3 Bespoke Travellers

As bespoke travel is the most expensive option open to tourists visiting Peru, the bespoke travellers I interviewed were in the fifties and sixties, and either shared a high joint salary with their partners or were semi-retired from well-paid professional jobs. One bespoke traveller had children who had grown up and left home, whilst the other did not have a family. Bespoke trips can last as long as the traveller wants, from a few days to several months, but both the travellers I interviewed were away for four weeks. Bespoke trips can be based exclusively in Peru, but some bespoke travellers include the country as part of a tour of South America.

I interviewed two bespoke travellers, a number which partly reflects the exclusivity of this sort of trip, and partly reflects the difficulties I had in recruitment. **Mr Potter** is aged in his early sixties, and had spent much of his life travelling around the world as an executive in a multi-national construction company. Mr Potter had recently retired from his job but continued to do consultancy work. He visited Peru, with his wife, because it was 'half way' between a conference in Mexico and family relations living in Argentina. Mr Potter spent approximately ten days in Peru. **Linda** is a geography teacher who visited Peru with her husband as part of a month trip to South America which also included Brazil, La Paz and Buenos Aires, before she flew on to visit her parents in New Zealand. I recruited both Mr Potter and Linda through the 'tag questionnaire', and interviewed them over the telephone.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter I have provided background information on Peru as a place to visit, on the institutional arrangements which get people from Britain to Peru, and on the independent, group and bespoke travellers who recently visited Peru, particularly those who took part in the in-depth interviews. This chapter leads into the empirical section of this thesis. The first empirical chapter introduces the travellers in more detail, looking at the role long-haul travel plays in their lives and identities. The second chapter looks at the spatial strategies used by travellers to narrate and enact identity. The third chapter turns from the discursive narration of travel to an account of travel practices which focuses on the Explore group's trek along the Inca trail.

Chapter 5

Telling Travel Stories: Travelling Identities

5.1 Introduction

Cathy: "...I thought 'I have to go on a long-haul trip, otherwise I'm not going to be the sort of person I want to be'" (2)¹

In this first empirical chapter I look empirically at the links between travel and self-identity. This quotation from Cathy's interview illustrates something of the investment that she places in travel in constructing her self-identity. What kind of person does Cathy imagine travel enables her to become? What sort of answers does travel provide to the questions she is asking about her self-identity? What role does travel play in her life? These are the kinds of questions this chapter seeks to answer, establishing and elaborating on the connections between travel and identity. In looking at how the people I interviewed constructed and used their 'travelling identities', the chapter focuses on two moments when travel is given a particular depth of meaning in the lives of the respondents. The first is when the people I interviewed decided to go on a long-haul trip, beyond the relatively familiar boundaries of Western Europe. The second is the moment of 'homecoming', when travellers return from Peru with their travel stories, photographs and souvenirs. Both are moments when travel is particularly significant to the interviewees, highlighting the investments and energy that they place in going away. In recounting some of these stories I am able to offer something of a 'travel biography' of the travellers I interviewed, which not only allows readers to familiarise themselves with the respondents, but also provides an important part of the connection between travel and identity in its own right.

5.2 'Setting off': starting long-haul travel

In this section I look at why the people I interviewed first started travelling. If the chapter as a whole explores the connections between travel and identity, then discussions of this theme provide a particularly productive area. The decision to start travelling is closely linked to moments in people's lives when their identity is open to question, and it is in these moments that travel is drawn upon to 're-imagine' self-identity. The section starts off by introducing the links between travel and identity by highlighting the story of one particular traveller, Molly.

¹Numbers in brackets refer to the interview from which the quote is taken.

5.2.1 *"I'm Not Mrs Average": travel and the re-imagination of identity*

Molly started travelling in her late fifties, following her husband Brian's retirement from his long-standing job in the police force. During Brian's career Molly had worked as a housewife, bringing up her three children, and more recently as a casual house cleaner and gardener. For Molly, the thought of retirement (which she describes as a "dreadful word") brought a certain amount of uncertainty about her future lifestyle. Her worry is that she will end up like some of her husband's peers who have recently retired. She represents these as stereotypical 'old fogies', dressed in quilted jackets and stuck in domesticated routines of going to the supermarket and the hairdressers. For Molly, the idea of this sort of lifestyle meant she:

"was getting really anxious about what we were going to do because I thought 'I'm not doing that'. We didn't do it while Brian was working, why do you suddenly do it because he's not working?" (2)

The fact that Molly feels as though her old identity as a housewife and mother is no longer available to her adds to her sense of anxiety. She has invested in these identities all her life, but now her children have left home and her husband is to spend more time in the house, she no longer has these responsibilities to others. Molly tells a story that illustrates the sense of needing to develop a new self-identity.

Molly: "when it came to the census form for me, there was nothing to put on it. Other than my age, my status as a housewife and whatever. And I couldn't believe it. I had no qualifications that you could write about. And it never worried me but I thought 'Oh God my girls've got 'A' Levels' and Brian got 'A' Levels when he was fifty'. You know. And then suddenly this opportunity to go places that I never thought I needed." (2)

Molly discusses her anxieties about her future lifestyle and sense of self-fulfilment with Brian, and it is at this point that they decide to go travelling, starting with two organised trekking trips in Nepal, and then visiting Peru with the Explore group. Molly describes the decision to start travelling as "like somebody opening a big window and letting all the air in" (2).

Here Molly describes what travel has offered her:

Luke: "Have they [your travels] lived up to your expectations that you had at that time?"

Molly: "Oh more. Without us actually having to make it more, it's there. To see the wonders of the world. And not just the man-made things. Those huge skies. The stars and. And to get away from [pause] washing machines. Or what have you. Totally forget that. The minute I leave the house that's finished." (2)

Travel provides Molly with a set of experiences which contrast with experiences of the home that she presents as typically mundane and an everyday part of her domestic routine. The difference travel makes to her experience of the world highlights her

representations of her fellow retirees as stuck in a lifestyle which only offers more of the same. Molly's account goes on to connect her travels with a new sense of self-identity:

Molly: "And I thought 'I've never done it before and I'm doing it now.' I didn't think I'd lost anything from not doing all these things when I was a teenager. Because I've never done anything I never wanted to do. But I suddenly thought 'Wow'. You know 'This is it'. I felt really [pause] cocky. Yeah cocky. I'll show them. I'm not Mrs Average." (2)

Travelling provides a new form of identity for Molly, in that she is now able to define herself according to her individual experiences of the world rather than by her position in the institution of the family. Molly's sense of self-identity, as a mother, grandmother and housewife had all been provided for her by the domestic setting which she had spent most of her life building and maintaining. Molly's travels allow her to shift the ground on which she constructs her self-identity. She uses travel to narrate a new identity which is based in her experiences of the world rather than her domestic position. By redefining the grounds of her selfhood, she moves herself away from an identity which she shares with many other mothers and wives, to one in which she uses the relatively unique experiences provided by to travel to narrate a new individualised identity. Molly is keen to stress that she has always seen herself as being relatively exceptional, as more able to cope in adverse circumstances for example, but travel provides her with the opportunity to prove this both to herself and others. Molly's moment of anxiety, in other words, becomes a moment of opportunity, where she can use travel to emerge from some of the restrictions placed on her by her previous identity (when she had made other choices about who she was and wanted to be), and to construct a new sense of herself and her self-worth for the next period in her life.

Molly is not alone in is using travel to build a new individual identity which replaces those of wife and mother. Margaret is in her late forties and, although her two teenage children are still at home, she decides the time has come for her to try something new for herself. Describing herself as "Shirley Valentine in the Amazon", Margaret booked herself onto her first long-haul trip, spending one week learning about "jungle plant remedies" as part of a study course in homeopathy in a forest lodge near Iquitos, before going on to spend a week travelling with an organised group visiting Cusco and Machu Picchu. Here Margaret describes what the trip meant to her:

Margaret: "....I'm at a stage in my life [where] my children have grown up....I thought 'Well Margaret you don't need to be a domestic animal any more. You can do this for yourself.' Because it was almost my way of breaking away and devoting myself to something which was very different from my normal world." (1)

"I said to her [a fellow traveller] 'Oh how can we go back to domestic life after this wonderful experience?' And she said 'Well at least we'll never be quite the same after this experience'. And I know what she means...You know that was a reality, it happened, and you did it. And could do it again. It's like breaking out when you've had 20 years of child-rearing. You know it does impose incredible limitations on your life." (2)

For Margaret, going travelling is linked to a decision to invest a certain amount of time, energy and money in her own personal ambitions rather than in her children's. Like Molly, Margaret's previous experiences and identity had been defined by her position in her family, and she similarly felt as though there was an individual identity which was waiting to emerge. For example, she describes some of the frustrations of family holidays which she has spent sitting on a beach with her "lotus-eating" husband, rather than exploring new places. As Margaret approaches a time in her life where she can place less energy in her children, the possibilities of developing this alternative identity become a reality. The sheer scale of the investment which Margaret places in travel shines through in these quotes. The final comment, that her trip to Peru "was a reality, it happened, and you did it" suggests that even when Margaret returns to her domestic setting, the fact of having been travelling will provide her with a new sense of self for some time to come.

Both Molly and Margaret, then, use travel as an answer to a particular moment in their lives when their identities as mothers and wives are open to question. The questions they raise are about how to develop a lifestyle and identity which includes a sense of personal achievement and self-fulfilment. The decision to start travelling is linked to what Anthony Giddens (1991) calls a 'fateful moment', a term he uses to refer to significant points of transition in people's lives which are particularly meaningful in terms of decisions about the self. 'Fateful moments' mean facing a cross-roads, a point where decisions have substantial repercussions for self-identity and lifestyle for a considerable number of years ahead. Travel is used by many of the people I interviewed in the re-imagining of identity at these 'fateful moments' in their lives as part of an attempt to rebuild a rewarding sense of self for the future.

5.2.2 Working at Identity: careers and travel

Having introduced something of the connections between travel and identity through a relatively detailed account of Molly's and Margaret's decisions to start travelling, this section focuses on a few 'fateful moments' amongst the travellers I interviewed which revolve loosely around the world of work. Recounting the stories of travel in relation to work is useful in that it introduces the backgrounds of most of the people I interviewed, and provides a number of helpful points to draw upon in 'thickening' the relationship between travel and identity. In a sense I have already started to introduce the theme of travel and work through the cases of Molly and Margaret, where travel furnished useful answers to 'fateful moments' surrounding the new found freedoms of retirement and the release from childcare responsibilities. Many other travellers found that transitions in the world of work, such as leaving higher education, starting a new job, setting up a company, or finishing employment, posed similar anxieties and opportunities.

Matt's 'fateful moment' was when he decided to quit his job as a car mechanic in Sheffield, where he had been working in the six years since he left school:

Matt: "Cos I'd been working solid for six years. And it were, I don't know, 'Can't be doing with it'. Just had enough. Basically."

Luke: "You'd had enough of working?"

Matt: "Yeah...Well no it were OK, but it just got to the point of thinking what you were doing with your life. And I was surrounded, like you are all the time, by people saying 'Oh I wish I'd done this', and...before you know it you feel too old to do it. Or they're not able to do it for some reason. So I thought 'Well, let's just go for it'. And I'm still going for it now, like, at the moment." (2)

Matt started travelling because of his questioning of the ability of work to provide for a rewarding sense of self in the future. Matt's representation of the slack in the lives of his ex-colleagues played a central role in his decision to give up work. His new 'going for it lifestyle' started off with him joining a 'veggievan' making its way around the summer music festivals of rural England as he waited for his partner Kim to finish university and earn enough money so they could both go travelling. Having spent nine months in India, they returned to England to earn more money for their trip around South America, and at the time of the interview were about to set off for Indonesia. Matt's commitment to travelling has led to a new phase in his life where he works on a casual basis at home, but only long enough to earn enough money to go on his next trip.

Andy's decision to start travelling was slightly later in his life, in his early thirties, when circumstances at work led to a re-evaluation of his life-style. Andy had set up his own company a number of years previously but had been forced to wind up his business concern. This moment of transition between one workplace and his next business venture was also a moment of reflexivity about his lifestyle. Here Andy describes what was behind his decision to start going away:

Andy: "I was working for about ten years and not having the time, or not choosing to have the time or the money to take holidays, and then realising, perhaps more so at thirty, that things are slipping by and there are a hell of a lot of places to see. Taking a fairly conscious decision of actually wanting to go and see more....choosing places that were exotic to go to....After spending ten years working quite hard and not reaping the benefits particularly, or looking towards a long term future to reap benefits, and then realising that perhaps the best way was to actually take things on a more day-to-day, year-to-year basis and actually do things while you have the opportunity. Just do them anyway. And more or less be damned. Making a decision 'Let's get out there and do it'." (2)

For Andy, the end of a period of his life in which he had invested himself heavily in terms of time, energy and commitment to his old company forced him to reflect on the areas of his life in which he would be able to gain a sense of personal satisfaction. Having had one area of personal investment let him down, Andy decided to see work as providing a means by which he would be able to build a rewarding sense of self in other

spheres of his life. Andy also changed the rhythm of his life to one in which he would spend time and money on himself in the short term rather than save for the long term. The result was that Andy started out on a series of long-haul trips, including diving in Belize, bungy-jumping in Australia and more recently the Explore trip to Peru with his partner Sophie.

For many of the travellers I interviewed, the decision to start going abroad was linked to the key moment of leaving education and moving into the world of work. For some travellers, the idea of work is opposed to any project of developing a fulfilling lifestyle. Jo, for example, made a similar decision as Matt to devote herself to travel, but at the earlier age of fifteen:

Luke: "So was it a deliberate decision that you've made to go travelling instead of getting a long term job...?"

Jo: "Yeah yeah...cos you can't get a career and do it as well really. You just can't."

Luke: "Right. So what sort of age then do you think you made that decision?"

Jo: "Oh young...it's not really a decision it's just like, it's happened and I think I've never really, you know if I found a great job and loved where I was living I'd do that. [If I] felt really settled I'd do it but, just that the way I see it....I always kind of get bored of things, I want to do something different. Particularly when I was younger, I could never see how people could work nine to five [laughing] until they were sixty years old. From like fifteen I wasn't going to be there." (2)

During the ten years since she left school, 'doing something different' for Jo has meant travelling from Australia, where she had spent her school years, to Europe. Her university life was interrupted by a further stint of travelling as she went off to New Zealand, and since graduating she has worked briefly in London before going on a three month independent tour of South America with a friend. Long-haul travel provides the answer to Jo's questions about the kind of lifestyle she desires, something which as far as she is concerned a 'conventional career' could not do.

Other travellers have not rejected work as forcefully as Jo and Matt, but nevertheless on finishing their education many saw travel as the only way of developing a meaningful identity. Jenny left university with very different ambitions. Although as an undergraduate she had wanted to travel, by the time she had finished her degree she felt as though she needed to pay off her debts and earn enough money for a better lifestyle than she had as a student. Leaving university in 1994, however, Jenny was unable to find a graduate level job. She worked overtime in a nursing home and lived with her parents in order to save as much money as possible to go travelling with her partner. After six months work they were able to go to South America as independent travellers for two months. Despite her previous ambitions, Jenny is keen to portray her decision to travel as

a positive and rewarding part of her life, and in talking about her trip she draws on a similar rejection of the 'conventional career', saying:

Jenny: "I think everyone I've spoken to has wanted to go away, and is not ready to settle down into life, because they want to see the world and they want, you know, there's more important things in life than commuting up to London every day." (2)

Both Justin and Sarah, independent travellers aged around thirty, also position the moment when they decided to start travelling as the transition between education and work. Justin and Sarah do not completely dismiss the possibilities of developing a rewarding sense of self through work, partly because in studying for vocational careers in law and accountancy respectively they had already invested a lot in their future careers. As Justin says: "I mean the job was important because that was what I'd been working towards really all my college life" (2). However both Justin's and Sarah's working lives were made to fit around their travelling ambitions. Justin arranged to postpone his first position in a solicitors firm in order to spend six months travelling in India, south-east Asia and Australia. His commitments then prevented him taking anything but short holidays (including climbing trips in the Alps and Morocco), until four years later when, in transition from one appointment to the next, he arranged to start work after spending two months in Peru with his partner, Emma. Sarah moulds work to suit her travels to an even greater extent. Finishing her degree in the mid-eighties, the booming economy of the City of London meant that she was offered six positions (even though she claims not to have learnt even double-entry book keeping on her course), and she was able to bargain for six months off before she started work, to visit Asia and Australia. Since then Sarah has been a prolific traveller, refusing to see employment as anything more than a period in-between her travels, and deliberately choosing not to make long-term commitments to settling in Britain. Her most recent trip was a nine month tour of South America and at the time of the interview she was planning to go to Central America.

The connection between these stories is that travel plays a crucial part in 'fateful moments' where individual's identity and lifestyle are open to question. So what meanings does travel take on in providing answers to the questions asked in these fateful moments? Andy, Jo and Jenny have already suggested in the quotes above that travel provides for a sense of self-fulfilment that the world of work cannot always give. In elaborating on what travel provides in their lives, Justin and Sarah make remarkably similar comments:

Justin: " On the other hand I was very keen to go travelling...you feel as though you're really living, I think you're actually living life, you know. Different things happening all the time, it's not like being at work where, it's not that things aren't happening but it's all within the work sphere. And you're in the same place all the time so your environment never changes....[G]oing off travelling every day there's something to remember. Which is what's so good about it. And life's really rich...But it's not real living because I mean you can't go on like that for ever. You've got to earn some money...." (2)

Sarah: "And I find to me the whole point of life is I don't want to, I mean this is probably why I don't settle down, because I don't think I could ever be happy in any particular situation because I always want to find out something more, look at something more, know something more or whatever....I want it [travel] to be an unforgettable experience. I want it to be memorable." (2)

Although these quotes show Sarah's greater commitment to travel, for both her and Justin a density of good memories is associated with having lived life to the full, and what provides good memories are experiences which are different from the 'everyday'. Justin links the everyday to the world of work, whereas Sarah links it more broadly to 'settling down' into a commitment to life in Britain. Travel provides both with the new experiences they desire, giving them a sense of moving onwards to new encounters and knowledges. It is worth pointing out that Justin's ideas about new 'experiences' are very much connected to ideas about spatial difference and mobility, something which does not happen in his workplace (see Chapter 6).

Travel's role in providing new experiences of the world is closely tied to the construction of a youthful identity amongst the younger travellers I interviewed. Jenny for example, says:

Jenny: "people want more from their lives and something for themselves first, to go and see the world while, you know, they're young and stuff, I guess. I know I do...there's a lot to see and a lot to do...There's too much to do to settle down to do things that you can do when you're thirty, thirty five. There's so much of the world to see and so many things to do." (2)

Youth is imagined as a period in life when 'new experiences' are important. In later periods of one's life, according to Jo and Jenny's narratives, commitments to others, in the forms of jobs and personal relationships mean that it is impossible to pursue new experiences through mobility. Both feel as that unless they experience 'the world' now, they will feel a sense of lack later in their lives, having missed out on the opportunity to develop a youthful identity for themselves.

Justin uses travel to produce a youthful identity in a slightly different way. At the time of the interview Justin was facing a new fateful moment: he had just got engaged and was to get married in a few months, an event which would have consequences for his 'travel career'. Here Justin talks about the new decisions he is making about his life:

Justin: "I think probably your desire to travel decreases actually as you get older. I think your values change a bit, and I'm quite keen to get a house and everything. And start married life and all that sort of stuff. It sounds sort of soppy or whatever....if I wasn't getting married and I wasn't in sort of a serious relationship, I'd probably be thinking about the next trip much more. You know different things in your life isn't it. Yeah, so the future for my travelling doesn't look all that rosy at the moment. But you know you can't do everything can you?" (2)

As he goes through the fateful moment of getting married, Justin also reworks his identity. He feels the need to portray travel as an experience that is desirable during the youthful phase of his life because he is moving to a situation where his commitments to his work, his future wife and his house demand a new kind of maturity. By representing travel experiences as youthful he is able to construct himself (albeit somewhat reluctantly) as forging a self in which new identities as a husband and solicitor are able to provide a different kind of fulfilment in his life.

The stories in this section so far have presented versions of travel which provide for self-identities in ways which work cannot. To round off this section, it is worth mentioning that for some of the people I interviewed, long-haul travel plays an important role in the development of a professional identity for work. Cathy left university planning a career as a documentary film-maker, and joined a film company as a secretary in the hope of moving up the corporate ladder to become a production assistant, a film researcher and eventually to make her own ethnographic films. She took a month off work to go to Peru having spent over a year in the company, and not long after her return was given a contract as an assistant researcher on a film project. Following the end of that particular project, she was planning to spend three months in Central America.

Mr Potter, a bespoke traveller in his early sixties, established different sorts of links between travel and work, deciding to work abroad once he had finished university in the 1950s. Mr Potter took up a position as a managerial engineer on a pipeline construction site in Nigeria. This job gave him an established position at early age, after which he travelled all over the world gaining contracts for the company for whom he worked. Over a period of forty years he claims to have visited over sixty countries. These trips are often linked to holidays for Mr Potter, and as his family have grown up his wife has accompanied him more frequently. For Mr Potter the pleasure of travel not only lies in his work, but also in the fact that "if you do like getting on a plane and going places and seeing something different, [then] I say to people now that I will go anywhere that I've never been before" (2). Indeed Mr Potter's visit to Peru was part of a conference trip to Mexico where he decided he wanted to take the opportunity to visit family relations in Argentina and stopped off in Peru because it was "half-way" between the two. For the other bespoke traveller, Linda, long-haul travel has also been associated with a desire to travel, as she left New Zealand having graduated from university to live and work in the Cook Islands before travelling to the U.S.A. and working in Britain, where she married a British man. Since then, her long-haul travels have continued as holidays.

The point to make in relation to two of these travellers is that they have used travel in the production of their professional workplace identities. For Cathy, travelling provides her

with the cultural capital to legitimise her role in the production of televisual representations of the world, as she says "I mean I can't go and make films about world affairs without having seen some of it." (2). Her trip to Peru produces an experience which she uses to symbolise her ability to produce meaningful knowledge about a wider world.² Travel was then a deliberate strategy used by Cathy to take up an institutional position within the company she worked for. This use of travel to achieve a professional identity was also part of Mr Potter's agenda in deciding to work in Nigeria, which he says is "the best thing I have ever done" (2) as far as his career is concerned. By going abroad he was able to take a relatively senior post which promoted him rapidly through the ranks of the company he was working for. Travel is given meaning by Cathy and Mr Potter as providing experiences of difference which are useful to their professional status (and see Munt 1994).

5.2.3 Autobiography and Travelling Identities

This far I have introduced the connections between long-haul travel and identity, showing how travel provides answers to questions of identity asked at 'fateful moments' in the lives of the people I interviewed. By focusing on the relations between travel and identity in the sphere of work I have recounted a number of travel stories which show something of the diversity of such 'fateful moments' (Giddens 1991) and uses of travel for identity. Giddens' work on self-identity in late-modernity offers concepts which are useful in developing an understanding of 'travelling identities'. Giddens (1991) contrasts the self in late-modernity with the pre-modern self, claiming that the latter was *given* by the position of the individual within a traditional social structure. In late modernity, where the identity of an individual is no longer staked out in advance by the local social hierarchy, self-identity is produced at a more individual level through decisions concerning a diversity of possible lifestyles (1991:5). The choices available in modernity, together with the collapse of traditional expertise, mean that it is the task of the individual to maintain a sense of continuity in self-identity and an idea of how a life should be lived (ibid:9). Whilst Giddens' insistence on a radical disjuncture between the pre-modern and the modern must be questioned (see Latour 1993; Lash, Szerynski and Wynne 1996), his analysis of identity in late-modernity highlights two important features: firstly, *reflexivity*, or the ability to produce an understanding of events that have happened in the past in order to orientate oneself towards the future; secondly, *autobiography*, or the reflexive construction of an ongoing story about the self which provides continuity to identity. The continuous production of a reflexive autobiography is crucial to self-identity in late-modernity (Giddens 1991:55).

Reflexive autobiography is a way of organising the relationship between self-identity and future practices. The future in late-modernity is a constructed set of opportunities and

²This use of travel to legitimate Cathy as a television professional is explored in more depth in section 5.3.1.

risks which individuals must choose between³. Reflexive autobiography assists in this choice since it projects a rewarding sense of self into the future. Giddens calls this process "self-actualisation", self-realisation (ibid:77), or an idea of what it means to live life to the full. This reflexive stance towards the future constitutes 'life-planning', which does not mean laying out one's life course to the end of one's life, but it does mean making choices about lifestyle and identity for considerable life-phases in the future. All life spans involve significant transitions, such as from work to retirement, where identity has to be renegotiated, new autobiographies have to be constructed and new trajectories have to be set for the future. It is with this point in mind that Giddens uses the phrase 'fateful moment'.

Travel is part of the construction of a reflexive autobiography, a story of the self and its 'self-actualisation'. Travel is a useful answer to questions about self-identity, particularly at fateful moments when those questions are faced in a particularly intense way. If fateful moments are about periods of heightened reflexivity and planning for a future life course, then travel (to a greater or lesser extent) is imagined as providing the sense of moving towards self-fulfilment. For the people I interviewed, travel played a relatively powerful role in helping them to feel as though they were constructing a sense of self with which they could feel satisfied. Travelling identities are part of a re-imagination of identity in response to the anxieties and opportunities offered by fateful moments.

There are, of course, other travel stories, fateful moments and travelling identities amongst the people I interviewed. Robert, an Explore group traveller in his mid-fifties explains his decision to start travelling in relation to a moment of reflexivity about his identity which he calls 'the male menopause':

Robert: "As I've got over fifty and I suppose you might call it something like the male menopause or you're getting older, but suddenly I'm realising that I've now got a bit more money and time's running out on me. And I want to do a lot of things before it's too late" (2).

For Sophie, who has visited Peru with the Explore group on her first long-haul trip, a new relationship with Andy has brought changes to her travel patterns. Previously, Sophie had gone to France on working holidays to learn about French cooking and culture more widely, with the thought that she might live abroad. Going to Peru is a new style of holiday where gazing at the landscape is much more of a priority: "I think it's a whole new world. which is all the sort of landscape bit....just to literally go and see and be in.... And that's his [Andy's] influence" (2). Kim, an independent traveller in her late twenties similarly starts travelling at least in part, because of a new relationship in which going away is a desire she and Matt share. Finally, Jon started travelling when he was

³Giddens calls this process of choosing from a "terrain of counterfactual possibilities" the "colonisation of the future" (1991:111).

invited to visit a friend in Hong Kong, and although the visit fell through he realised that "there's a world out there". Since that trip, he has become a loyal Explore customer, and says he still enjoys the fact that "other people are going off to Spain and you're going to Peru....the fact that people are seriously, not seriously impressed, but I mean slightly taken aback" (2).

So, having introduced the individuals who are central to the thesis, and having worked through the first moment in which travel is given a depth of meaning for travellers, I now turn to the 'homecoming' to look at the social construction and contestation of the uses of travel for identity in the public arena.

5.3 'Homecomings': using travelling identities

In the second half of this chapter I continue with the theme of exploring the connections between travel and identity through the accounts the travellers gave of their 'homecomings' from Peru. Although this might seem a slightly odd leap into the future, given that I have not yet discussed what the travellers actually did whilst they were away, I adopt this theme because it, too, provides a particularly rich arena in which to look at the travelling identities of the people I interviewed. If the decision to go away is about investing in travel for self-identity, then coming back home again should be one way of reaping the rewards of travel.

Munt (1994) suggests that the relative popularity of new and far-distant travel destinations lies in struggles over cultural capital, where long-haul tourism is used to construct the identities of new class fractions amongst the middle classes of the first world. Munt argues that long-haul travellers enact a form of distinction between holiday destinations and practices which they convert into class status. Homecoming, according to Munt, is precisely the moment when travel pays off, often literally in monetary terms, as travellers walk into jobs in the charity, development and travel industries. The development of consumption studies within cultural geography, however, suggests that this automatic ascription of cultural capital on homecoming may be need reworking. Cultural geographers (such as Burgess 1990, Jackson and Thrift 1995) have pointed out that the meanings ascribed to objects and knowledges stretch beyond the moment of 'purchase' to take on a variety of meanings and forms as 'products' re-circulate through new social milieux (Johnson 1986). Travel does not provide cultural capital or other forms of identification in any simple sense, but is given meaning for identity through travel stories, photographs and souvenirs. This section looks at the *cultural work* which goes into translating travel into identity on return home.

The task of narrating and representing travel to others developed as a theme in many of the interviews. Here, Andy and Sophie talk about the problems of trying to convey their experience of Peru to Andy's family:

Andy: "That's a difficult thing to put across actually, the altitude. The clarity of the air, how light everything was. Not only a visual lightness but in body lightness. The air."

Sophie: "Yeah. It's hard to imagine actually now. You kind of think 'Well, was it really different?' And you know it was. But it's kind of hard to remember how it was different because it was quite an intangible thing." (2)

The difficulties of conveying the experience of Peru are shared by other travellers. To give one more example which supports this point, Jenny finds that she is unable to recount and share the whole of her experience of South America:

Jenny: "people say 'Did you have a good time?' 'Yeah it was brilliant', and then they say 'Well what did you do?'. And [pause] it's such a big question. I don't really know how to answer it if you see what I mean. 'We did lots of things'. (2)

All travellers are intensely aware of the problem of being a 'travel bore' who goes too far in impressing their experiences onto other people. Travellers have to select certain parts of their experiences, cutting them up, exaggerating for effect, making connections between different places: in short, using a whole host narrative devices to communicate some kind of story to others. Telling travel stories is a central part of conveying the meanings of travel to others.⁴ Like all stories, however, they have to be worked upon and built up if they are to have any meaning, and communicate to others in a form which will confirm the traveller's identity.

One way in which travellers share their experiences is by using photographs or giving souvenir presents. Photographs and souvenirs are useful because they open up a space which legitimates talking about travel (many of the travellers I interviewed either were frustrated by or knew from experience the lack of attention paid to travel stories), providing a hanger on which to drape stories. Travellers such as Jenny are keen to use photos to try and convey their own meaning to others: "they're meaningless I think if you just look at them. They don't mean anything to anybody. Just a picture of a desert" (2). To make photographs give the messages that travellers want them to give, they have to fit them into a travel story. The same is true of souvenirs, as the following discussion with Sophie shows, about the legitimacy of buying presents in London and passing them off as being from Peru:

Sophie: Actually Tumi [a shop in Camden market, London] do lots of Peruvian stuff. Do you know Tumi? I've not been there but I know they do lots of Peruvian stuff. I thought about that actually on the way back [from Cusco to Lima] when I was umming and ahing

⁴Although I will look at the uses of travel memories towards the end of this section.

about not having got Karen anything. But I thought 'No I can't'. That's cheating. [Luke: laughs]. I got something from the airport in the end which is almost as bad but not quite. It's still from Peru."

Luke: "So what's wrong with Tumi?"

Sophie: "Oh nothing. It's just that it's not something you've brought back from your holiday. It's kind of cheating." (2)

From this extract, it is clear that it is not just the aesthetics of the present that count, but the story behind it as well. For Sophie, a present from Peru has to have a story of authenticity behind it. Appadurai (1986) argues that consumer goods are given the quality of authenticity when they appear to have been diverted from their original path by the Western buyer. So for Sophie, Peruvian presents which had been brought to England by another buyer do not contain the story she wants to tell (unless she lies) about having 'captured' and brought back a piece of Peru. The airport gift very nearly fails to tell the right story, as presumably if it is in an airport it has been displayed specifically for the tourist rather than the discerning market buyer, high in the Peruvian Andes. The story of the buyer's role in bringing the present back home is obviously connected to the way the traveller wants to represent themselves and their experience to others (i.e. a 'traveller' rather than a 'tourist'). Even presents brought in an ironic spirit, as an example of tourist kitsch, often have a story of the tacky shop or market where they were bought (to make sure the receiver knows the gift is meant with tongue fully in cheek). In short, the point of the present is not simply the material good itself, but the meaning which is it is made to hold through the stories which are told about it.

Naturally the meanings which are given to travel, in the form of travel stories, photographs or presents, are all open to being shared and contested by the listener. The meanings given to travel are formed through dialogues with others, as are the identities which travellers can construct from their experiences. In the next two sub-sections I want to look at how travellers forge identities through representing the meanings of travel in ways which others share, and secondly at what happens when others contest the meanings of the travel experiences. Finally, to finish this second half of the chapter, I look at the private uses of travel memories by the people I interviewed.

5.3.1 Sharing Meanings: communities of travel

The most successful example of drawing on the shared meanings given to travel is Cathy's use of her trip to Peru to secure promotion from a secretarial position to a research assistantship in the documentary film company where she works. Cathy talks about a number of her senior colleagues who have taken advantage of their short term contract positions to go travelling for several months at a time. In her workplace, the experiences of travel are seen as being useful in the work environment:

Cathy: "People are allowed to be human beings somehow in television. Except for the hours [laughs]. So you know you're seen as a composite of different parts of your life...And you can bring different skills along by having different experiences." (2)

The company clearly has a 'culture of travel' where going away is valued in terms its utility in the development of individuals who contribute to the company's product. In terms of Cathy's promotion, a key moment is when she returns from Peru and her travels are acknowledged by the director of the company, a conversation which leads almost directly to her new job:

Cathy: "Their perception has changed towards me, and one of my bosses, one of the founder directors of the company, he said to me, because I was talking about my trip to Central America and he said 'Yes, I know I certainly noticed the difference in you when you came back from travelling in Peru'. That's quite, you know, it took him a little while to say but we were just at a party and he said 'We think you were really changed by that experience. Made more confident from it'." (2)

The shared meaning given to travel within the company means Cathy's role in the production of televisual representations was changed. In part, this was because she was able to use the cultural capital of travel as a form of class distinction which reworks her status within the company. As she says: "the average production secretary does not up-sticks and go to Peru for a month" (2). Narrating a class identity in this way links into Cathy's use of travel to produce her professional identity, legitimating her geographical knowledge of the world as useful for the documentary film product. Cathy's promotion and her new found expertise on South America were very much in demand, as she describes being approached to provide information about locations, language and logistics which have consolidated her new position.

The hope that travel will help with her future career is shared by Jenny, who recounts the following conversation:

Luke: "...some people have mentioned to me that going travelling does look quite good when you're applying for a job [Jenny: I hope so]. I mean have you considered putting it on a CV or....?"

Jenny: "I have, yes. To justify why for the past year, [why I've been] doing what I've been doing. And I know my next door neighbour - baby-sitting last summer sometime - talking about what I want to do, and as an employer he said he'd rather have someone who'd temped for a year and done six months travelling, worked hard for what they wanted, than someone who'd just got a mundane job for a year. He said that's far better. [A] more positively challenged, organised sort of person, is much more employable." (2)

Although the sense of giving shared values to travel is more tenuous in this example (it's very easy to say that travelling is good for potential employees in casual conversation rather than at the point of actually offering employment), it does point to the construction of some shared valuation of the experiences of travel between travellers and employers.

In Jenny's account, travel is represented as providing experiences which bring about some sort of personal growth, 'challenging' the individual and giving them skills which will count in the world of work.

Giving shared meanings to travel also emerges from the friendships which travellers build through the experiences. Cathy tells the following story about a conversation she has had in preparation for her forthcoming trip to Central America:

Cathy: "I've got a friend who's just come back from nine months in Central America. And at Christmas we had a meal, loads of us, and he was really welcoming the opportunity to have someone lapping all the information from him. Because he was like 'Yeah, and then I worked in the rain forest and then I did this and then I did that'. And I was like 'Oh yeah and where did you go then?' He was really enjoying the fact that someone was you know. Because every time I say I'm going to Central America someone says 'Oh yeah, I'd love to go to South America'. And I'm like 'No it's Central America [laughs]. Yeah it's different'. And he was obviously quite pleased that someone knew what he was talking about and the countries." (2)

The conversation revolves around the shared valuation of knowledge about Central America: where it is, what countries you can visit, where you can go. Despite the fact that Cathy's friend is cast as the (slightly too willing) expert with Cathy as the pupil, they both give a similar degree of importance to travelling in the area. These shared values allow them to imagine themselves against an Other group of people who they see as lacking in knowledge. The feeling of belonging to a 'community' of travellers, people who identify themselves around their experiences, is an important part of Cathy's agenda. Going away for her includes fulfilling a desire to "be part of the club of people that had been away on a big trip of some kind." (2)

This sort of conversation is central to the construction of a 'culture of travel' through friendships and is common amongst the travellers I interviewed. Linda talks fondly of times during her youth in New Zealand when travellers returned home and would present their slides of far-off places. Linda sees such events as an important contribution to a culture of travel in New Zealand, where the O.E. (or Overseas Experience) is almost part-and-parcel of growing up into adulthood for the white, middle class majority. For Matt, Kim, Sarah and Jo, the communities of travel that spring up following a trip are an important benefit of going away, and all four describe going to visit friends they met in South America, in order to reminisce about their experiences abroad. Likewise, the Explore group had a reunion about one month after our trip, meeting up to show slides and talk about what the trip had been like. Interestingly most of the conversation of the reunion was taken up with talking about how difficult it was to impress on people who had not been travelling exactly what the experience had been like. Some of the more loyal Explore customers were members of several reunion groups, meeting up regularly with fellow Explorers to talk about trips, as many as five years afterwards.

5.2.2 *Contesting Travelling Identities*

If travellers can construct the travelling identities they desire in spaces where the meanings of travel are shared by others, they can also face challenges to the travelling identities they attempt to perform on 'homecoming'. Sarah provides a good example of this from an interview for a recent job:

Sarah: "...if I go to job interviews, obviously you've got to suppress all this kind of side of you [i.e. your travelling identity] because they don't want to know...You can't say 'Oh well it was a big mistake and I won't do it again'...Like my present job they nearly didn't take me on because they thought 'She's not going to stay a year. She's going to piss off...part of you always has to suppress it because if you want to get on in Britain today it [travel] doesn't exactly go with it. I mean they like it on CVs...If you've been to Bognor for the week you'll put down 'travelling'. I think they like it because it shows you've done something different. And they don't like it because it means you're going to piss off. So you've have to be quite careful how you tell them about it. How you present it." (2)

As described above, travel plays a large role in Sarah's life and feeling of self-fulfilment. At Sarah's interview, however, her future employer saw Sarah's travelling identity as incompatible with a commitment to the work contract, to the form of professional identity, and ultimately to a future in their company. Sarah represents the company as accepting certain versions of travelling identities, which she describes ironically as people who go to Bognor Regis for the week, but she knows that she faces a challenge to her own travelling identity. Sarah, however, resolves the problem by carefully managing her travelling identity in other ways. Following this quote, she describes her strategy as one of presenting the employer with a sense of herself as a youthful traveller who has now moved on to other priorities, although the fact that people in her company had a bet on whether she would stay a year does not point to a great deal of success in this representation of herself. It also highlights the fact that Sarah's travelling identity was not the final arbiter as to whether she got the job or not: obviously other professional skills and knowledges were important too.

Justin sees employers challenging travelling identities on other grounds:

Justin: "I mean a lot of people just go somewhere like Sydney, and get a job doing nothing useful in particular, just temporary sort of work that they could have done just as well over here. They've not made the most of their time. Generally I think it'd [travel] be a positive thing, but you know they would have had to have made some use of their time as well."

Luke: "So it's not just a question of being abroad, you've got to..."

Justin: "No not really no. That would come into play a bit if they'd been to undeveloped countries say, or very far afield. And because they would have experienced that part of the world [i.e. the underdeveloped part], perhaps, as I was saying earlier it might have broadened their mind a bit." (2)

For Justin, the experiences of travel are challenged on the grounds of the imaginative geographies of travel (a theme expanded on in Chapter 6). It is no use travelling to

Sydney, Australia, because it is a first world country which does not contrast sufficiently with staying at home, and therefore is not really worth while. Going to underdeveloped countries, on the other hand, provides the kind of experiences and particularly new sorts of knowledges which Justin sees as being useful at work. The travelling identities of those visiting first world countries is challenged as not equipping them with the experiences which sustain the kind of identity Justin imagines travel ought to provide.

One of the more frequent challenges to travelling identities is in terms of their relation to gendered identities. Sarah, who seems to be particularly unlucky in terms of a lack of acceptance for her travels, makes the following point about men and travel:

Sarah: "I really do try to suppress it [travel experience], because people in general don't want to hear about it, but I mean if you meet a girl and you don't know [her], you talk to her, and...it [travel] comes up and they go 'Oh really!!' And they're interested, and I don't go into great details, I sort of say 'Yeah I went all around'. And they go 'Oh that's really good' and are encouraging. Meet a guy and they think 'Oh blimey' you know 'Got someone here who's independent and' you know. And it undermines them in some way. I know it's an old fashioned attitude but it's true. Men still feel, even 'New Men' still feel like this. That makes it very difficult in my relationship with men." (2)

Sarah is aware of the problems that travelling identities can cause in personal relationships, because of the way in which travel is often associated with independence, experience, authority and a separate and self-sufficient self. The idea that certain feminine identities are not compatible with travelling identities is hinted at by many other women I interviewed. For example, Cathy describes her dad having had enough of her descriptions of Peru, reading her travels as legitimating an authoritative view of 'the world' which he did not feel was appropriate in their relationship as a father and daughter. Jenny describes her grandmother telling her that she is "hyperactive" because she goes travelling and is unable to settle down. In this case, travel is interpreted as an inability to take on the characteristics of a more traditional feminine identity as a wife. Molly describes the way in which usually she has a meal for her extended family where she presents them with her travel photos and a special dish from the country she has just visited. However, it turned out that Molly had not had this meal following her trip to Peru, and she hints that while she would feel comfortable talking about Italy or France, she would not be able to tell her daughters about her long-haul travels. Perhaps the independence she asserts through travel is not compatible with their vision of her as a mother. Margaret is slightly more assertive when her travelling identity is challenged by her teenage children

Margaret: "My daughter was quite worried about me going because she's very dependent on me, kind of emotionally. But I explained to her that for me it was a very essential growth thing I needed to do for myself, and I'd be a lot better off when I came back. I felt I was a lot happier for a long, you know the novelty of it just lasted a long time, for about three months I just felt really elated." (2)

Margaret has the power within her family to assert her travelling identity and new found sense of self which has emerged after years of being a mother. Obviously, Margaret is not totally giving up her identity as a mother, but she is able to affirm the idea that she can have both an individual sense of herself and her self-fulfilment through developing her travelling identity, and she can be a mother as well. All the women I interviewed are working to prove that women can be both travellers *and* continue to have a variety of feminine identities as wives, daughters, mothers and partners (see Blunt 1994 on femininity and travel).

The only time that masculine identities are challenged in a similar way is in this story by Jon, where he talks about his parents' reaction to his travels:

Jon: "I know bloody well when I was showing them the slides that they might see the slides but I know straight away my father is looking to see whether there's a girl that I might have got off with. This is a deep parental thing because they're desperate for grandchildren and why I'm not married and all this sort of thing....But I mean that's all part of how the world perceives younger people. If you're not part of a pair, you're between people or you're gay." (2)

Here Jon's travels are seen as compatible with a masculine identity by his parents, but only to the extent that they open up the possibility of Jon taking on the role of a husband and father. Jon's relationship with this use of travel is ambiguous, as he does use travel as a way of "meeting like-minded people", but in presenting his travels to his parents it is most certainly *not* the kind of travelling identity he wants to construct. From other comments in Jon's interview, I imagine he would be more interested in presenting a certain amount of authority about the places he has visited, and a degree of technical competence in his photographs. However, Jon is clearly concerned that if he cannot convince his parents of this particular travelling project, nor fulfil their expectations about the travelling identity they want him to have, that he will be given a very different type of masculine identity as a gay man.

To round off this section, the travelling identities brought back home by the people I interviewed are open to contestation in a number of different spheres. Others can dispute either the experiences which people construct through their travels, or they can contest the travelling identities which are presented to them. The result is a dialogue and a 'struggle' over the meanings of travel and its role in their relations with others. At times the travellers I interviewed had the power to impose their own ideas about travel and self-identity onto others, for example in the case of Margaret and her family. At other times, such as in the case of Sarah and Kim in the workplace, travellers have much less power to enact their travelling identities.

5.2.3 *"Better Than Taking Pills": travel memories and identity*

To complete this second half of the chapter on the uses of travelling identities on return home, it is worth pointing out that travel is not only used in the construction and narration of self-identity through dialogues with others, but also through the internal dialogue which continuously flows between memories and thoughts within the self. To expand on this point, this quote from the interview with Molly highlights some of the ways in which she uses travel:

Luke: "...looking back at the holiday through the photos,...what are the kind of feelings that that brings up?"

Molly: "[Exclaims] Did I really do that? Was that me? Was I really there? And I still can't believe it....And I look at the photographs and the pictures and I think 'Gosh, yes that was me'. And I can't believe that a week after I've done [pause] that climb to Machu Picchu, a week afterwards and I'm in Sainsbury's. And I look at myself, and I can't believe it's me. I don't like going to the shops, not for any other reason other than I just don't like it, and to boost myself up I think 'Well, you don't know where I've been'. Yeah it really is a boost. If I have to meet a lot of people that I don't particularly want to, I think 'Oh well, I've been trekking, I know you haven't'. And it's good for me. It's better than taking pills." (2)

Molly's use of the memories and traces of her trip gives her a feeling of excitement because of the new possibilities she has for narrating her identity (see section 5.2.1). Having used travel to break away from her identity as a housewife and mother, and to develop a new sense of herself, Molly is able to use the memories of travel to 'shore up' her new found self. The moments that Molly highlights in this quote are the very moments when she is likely to be seen by others as a wife and mother (out shopping) because they are not situations in which she has a voice to represent herself differently. At these moments, Molly feels as though her new identity is under threat, and that she needs to confirm herself to herself. Travel memories, the knowledge that she *has* been to Machu Picchu and that she *has* walked along the Inca Trail, are enough to position herself against a non-travelling Other who is not so accomplished, competent or fulfilled. Jo describes a similar use of travel when she says that having been away she "wouldn't give a scrum" (2) about going into a pub on her own, and even talking to people in there, whereas previously she would have lacked self-confidence to do what she wanted to do in public. Travel memories are used in specific social circumstances when the identity travellers imagine for themselves is not likely to be shared by others, and provides a feeling of solidity to the new self which is under construction.

But apart from this use of travel in slightly hostile circumstances, personal travel memories provide a great deal of pleasure to the people I interviewed. Jon, for example, is a keen travel photographer, describes one of the main pleasures of his trips as the slide shows that he sets up afterwards. By connecting a tape recorder to a slide projector, he can play sounds and music that he has recorded on his trip, and using an automatic mechanism for moving slides on, that he can just sit in his front room and enjoy his

pictures. Jon says that he sometimes puts on the 'shows' for friends, but he prefers watching them on his own on dark winter evenings. Molly, too, describes the pleasure that she gets from travel memories, using the metaphor of a film reel to describe the ways she can 'replay' her travels to herself once she has got back home. In fact, Molly goes so far as to say that during the trip itself, she can't really think about what is going on, and it is not until she has got home and recalled her memories that she can really begin to enjoy her experiences.

The satisfaction of travel for the individuals I interviewed is often accounted for in memories. Justin's comments about the way travel provides "something to remember" are matched by Robert's fantasy that in his old age he will be able to sit in his wheelchair and remember his past travels. Travel provides these people with a very real sense that their lives have been worth living because they have been travelling. As Sarah says: "if I died tomorrow and was able to look back on my life...I think I would look back and think that I did something with my life" (1). The use of travel to present one's self-identity to oneself may indeed be the most important way in which travel is used on homecoming. It is also one of the most difficult uses of travel to access through the interview process. Using travel memories is something which takes place over the long term, to the end of the individual's life. It is also something which often takes place in feelings, emotions and sentiments which are difficult to capture verbally. Nevertheless, these feelings can provide a 'core' sense of identity for years to come.

5.4 Conclusions: reflexive autobiographies and travelling identities

In this chapter I have looked at the connections made between travel and self-identity. The chapter has told the stories of the interviewees' involvements in travel by focusing on two key 'moments': firstly, the decision to start going away on long-haul trips, and secondly, bringing travel back home after the trip. From students such as Jenny and Jo, making decisions about their new working lives, to retirees such as Molly, making the most of their new found leisure time, the chapter has highlighted the important role played by travel in the lives of the people I interviewed. Indeed, looking at these two moments has provided a particularly rich and productive space in which to explore the links between travel and identity.

In the first half of the chapter I introduced and elaborated on the links between travel and self-identity, suggesting that travel provided particular answers to questions asked about identity, self-fulfilment and lifestyle at 'fateful moments' in the lives of the people that I interviewed. The decision to start long-haul travel is part and parcel of a re-imagination of the self at such times, and the construction of a travelling identity is a way of developing a rewarding sense of self for the future. In the second half of the chapter I have looked at

some of the public uses of these travelling identities on return home, arguing that travelling identities are always narrated in specific social contexts and settings. Travel, in so far as it is used to narrate difference from and similarities with others, is affirmed and contested in a variety of social milieux through which travellers pass, whether in the 'cultures of travel' provided by Cathy's workplace or the hostility towards travelling identities shown in Sarah's interview.

Travel operates as an open signifier which marks difference between identities. Travellers are able to use travel as a resource for identity to the extent that they can 'borrow' ideas from discourses about travel which are already circulating through culture. Using travel as a way of re-imagining identity means drawing on ideas about travel which are already 'out there'. Travel in this sense is always open to interventions, affirmations and contestations by others. Travellers can construct shared meanings for their experiences within certain social groupings where it maybe useful to their identity, but the expectations they place in travel are reworked by others. As such, travellers work at telling travel stories which bring their experiences into play during particular moments and dialogues when it serves a useful purpose for their identity.

Having elaborated on travelling identities, the connections between travel and the re-imagination of self-identity, one thing that I hope emerges from this chapter is the sense of the energy and investment being placed in travel by the people I interviewed. In the next chapter I move on to ask what it is about the nature of travel, and specifically travel to Peru, that makes it so useful for the re-imagination of self-identity. How are travellers able to use travel to construct the differences in experience which I have touched on in this chapter? To answer these questions means looking at the geographical imaginations that are at play in long-haul travel, at the experiences which travellers imagine Peru contains. The next chapter deals with the imaginative geographies of long-haul travel by unpacking what it means to travel in terms of representations of space.

Chapter 6

Places of Difference: Geographical Imaginations, 'Border Crossings' and Travelling Identities

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I established and elaborated on the links between travel and identity, suggesting that long-haul travel is used as a resource in the re-imagination of the self. In this chapter I deal with the spatiality of travel. What makes travel so useful for the identities of the people I interviewed is that it is imagined as providing a unique and distinctive set of experiences of space and place. The chapter focuses on the 'spatial imagination' of travellers, arguing that travellers 'authorise' certain practices as providing a 'better' experience of the world. I explore why the people I interviewed think that travel in general, and their travel practices in particular, provide such a special experience of spatial difference. It is precisely because travel is seen as providing an distinctive outlook on the world that it is useful in the narration of a 'fulfilled' identity. In the next empirical chapter I look at how these discursive 'authorisations' of travel practices translate onto the ground in Peru. This middle empirical chapter, then, forms a hinge between the 'travelling identities' of the previous chapter, and the material practices of travel.

The chapter focuses particularly on the imagination of Peru as a place of 'authenticity': a place where travellers can encounter the 'primitive and natural'. Although there are a number of other versions of Peru used by travellers, for example in their visits to Lima's shanty towns (*The Independent on Sunday* 25/5/97) or to the colonial towns of the Spanish conquest, I deliberately concentrate on 'authenticity' in order to engage with the notion as it has been used in tourism studies, and to 'unpack' the uses of the concept by travellers. The notion of 'authenticity' is ascribed to places by travellers as part of a process of constructing an imaginative geography of Peru. To use John Frow's (1991) vocabulary, Peru is 'authenticated' as spatially difference because it can be read as an 'authentic' place. But this spatial difference can be consumed through a number of different media, such as looking at photographs, watching television or listening to travel stories. The question is: what is it about travel as a set of practices that gives people a special experiences of 'authenticity'? What difference does actually going to Peru make? How does travel render the 'authentic' Peru present to travellers? What do you have to do once you are actually in Peru in order to *really* get in touch with its 'authenticity'? In this chapter I argue that travel practices are 'authorised' by travellers as providing an 'unmediated' encounter with 'authentic' places. In other words, the desire to travel is a desire to take part in spatial practices which give 'direct' access to the Other.

The structure of the chapter deals firstly with representations of Peru as a place of 'authenticity'. Secondly it looks at how these representations are mobilised through discourses about travel as a set of practices which 'dissolve the borders' to give an 'unmediated' experience of the Other. The final section looks at how both narrations of 'authenticity' *and* travel as offering 'unmediated' encounters are used to position travelling identities.

6.2 Places of Difference: authenticity, primitivism and nature in Peru

In this section I introduce some of the 'discursive routes' which are available to travellers in constructing their imaginative geographies of 'authenticity' in Peru. The section focuses on the imaginative geographies of Peru which draw on versions of 'authenticity', particularly of Peru as a 'primitive' and 'natural' place. A useful starting point is provided by Margaret, who contrasts the Peru she encounters in her travels with her home in north London:

Margaret: "...I think in London, life is so much to do with stress and getting from A to B on time, scared of going out at night, sometimes there'll be too much commuter traffic, whereas *there* you felt that you could take advantage of everything because it was so available and people didn't seem to be so dragged down by the burden of everyday life.....you'll see it from the pictures, when we went to this market town we saw some beautiful Andean women with their babies and things. And they seemed so happy and so centred. Whereas here you know, the rat race just seems, well I just think that things are declining very rapidly in our society. I mean you take a paper, and you read about a woman in Archway having her face slashed, you know for no reason by two drugged men. I don't know, it's just a horrendous thing. And then you think 'Well who's living in the jungle, them or us?'" (1)

In Margaret's vision of London, there is an all pervading impression of powerlessness in the face of a city which is beyond her control and understanding. Margaret is forced to live her life according to the dictates of other people's timetables, and there is the continuous threat of violence which she presents as beyond the control of even those who perpetrate it. This vision of a declining Britain is contrasted with a very different idea of Peru, which she portrays in images of Peruvians who are in control of their everyday lives. They are able to get hold of the material goods they need without facing the same struggle as Margaret. The consequence is that Peruvians are able to construct humane social relations which provide them with a calm feeling of wholeness in their lives. Margaret's final comments provides an interesting reversal of the jungle as a space which is 'primitive', in opposition to the modern space of London. In Margaret's eyes, it is the jungle where things are civilised and London, where daily life is a continuous struggle against the odds, that follows the uncompromising 'law of the jungle'.

If the material world of the jungle stands as a contrast to the problems of modernity, for Margaret it is also a world which is under imminent threat from the global expansion of

modernity. Margaret spent a week of her fourteen day trip in the Amazon basin, near Iquitos, and part of the purpose of the visit is:

Margaret: "...understanding the world at large and seeing what this destruction is all about and what does it mean and being able to, you know like if I die tomorrow I least I'd seen something so special to the whole world, really so important to the whole world. So there's a lot of poignancy in going there, cause you know that in ten years it might not be there."
(1)

The Amazon rain forest has become a key site through which understandings of globalised threats to nature are understood and narrated, most notably since the 1992 U.N.C.E.D. Rio conference where the issue of rain forest destruction was particularly associated with iconic images of burning forests in South America. Margaret draws on this understanding of the Amazon rain forest in presenting the jungle as a natural world which is under threat from the forces of modernity, a place where nature can be encountered before the bulldozers move in (Williams 1973).

To an extent Margaret is drawing on a version of authenticity based in 'primitivism' in these descriptions of Peru. Primitivism is "a search for origins and absolutes -- for unspoilt nature and uncontaminated humanity, for the paradise we (modern westerners) have lost...*a powerful desire to escape from modern Western industrial, alienating society*" (Jordan and Weedon 1996:320; emphasis in original). Primitivism inverts the usual set of binary oppositions which construct a narrative of progress from nature to culture, the pre-modern to the modern, the primitive to the civilised, the backward to the advanced. It has provided a powerful critique of the claims of modernity to provide a better world, and it is this critical use which Margaret brings into play. Peru is represented as a place where the humane wholeness of the 'primitive' can be experienced, as opposed to alienating experiences of modernity back home.

The imagination of Peru as 'primitive' and natural is not only described by travellers in terms of a critique of modernity, but also as a way of 'getting in touch' with (or even becoming) the 'primitive' for oneself. In this quote, Molly describes the pleasure of driving with the Explore group from Cusco to the start of the Inca Trail to Machu Picchu, a journey which passes over the plains of the Andean altiplano where the views to the distant snowy peaks of the western cordillera are spectacular (see figure 12):

Molly: "And I loved going through the plains. Oh that was *wonderful*. The contrast there, and the clear air, and when we stopped for the photo-call for the mountains. That, to me, was absolutely breathtaking. I can see those mountains now. The colours....It must have been absolutely wonderful hundreds of years ago. No roads. You could soak it up like a sponge, the atmosphere....Because everybody's got to go along there to get to the mountains. It doesn't matter what. We've all got to go across those plains to get there. I felt every bit of it." (2)

Molly portrays her gaze over the Andean landscape as encompassing a timeless experience of place. She imagines herself as having the same view of and response to the landscape as countless people coming before her in history. Molly often interprets her experience of Peru as providing her with a connection to people in the past. For example, arriving at Machu Picchu at the end of the Inca Trail she describes her reaction to the view in the context of the generations of Incas who must have had the same experience. When we discuss the pleasures of visiting the Gold Museum in Lima, which houses a vast collection of pre-Colombian craft work and jewellery, as part of the Explore group's guided tour of the city, I asked Molly if she preferred visiting places such as the museum on her own or with a guide. Molly says she stays on the fringes of such guided visits, until she has heard enough information about the exhibits, then she likes to be left on her own to imagine the lives of the people who made the artefacts. Molly describes this as a "fantasy world" where she "pictures people from years ago". The pictures Molly describes are all to do with her connections to historical Others. For example, she says "We all build our own houses, don't we...It's the same the world over" (1).

Unlike Margaret, Molly's representations of Peru do not yearn for a 'time before the fall' and, although she does comment at a later point in the interview on the alienation of housework compared with the freedom of trekking (see section 5.2.1), she is not immediately concerned with inverting the usual relationship of the modern and pre-modern in the same way as Margaret. Instead, she uses her vision of Peru's past as a way of asserting her place in a common humanity, stressing her connections with the past through her imagination of shared experiences of the landscape and a shared concern with home-making. The fact that Molly feels able to share the same experiences and concerns as the Peruvian 'primitive' is then used to enable her to connect herself to a globalised sense of basic human-ness.

For Matt and Kim, travel to 'primitive' places is also important, but in a slightly more mystical sense. For example they first set out to India because it is "a spiritual place" which, although not materially rich, is "rich in different ways" (2). Their trip to Peru provides the opportunity to get in touch with this spirituality once again. In this quote, Matt and Kim describe their visit to a pre-Inca monument near Puno, which is consist of several ten metre high stone funeral towers on a plateau looking over the altiplano towards Lake Titicaca:

Matt: "And inside there were just this shrine, inside it with just some coca leaves and some coloured cloth. Various things laid out in this little shrine. Anyway it really was a really strange place wasn't it....?"

Kim: "....We were in there, and we were sat and it was really quiet and the wind was whistling through."

Matt: "Yeah, it was great because we were getting away from the populated areas. Getting right out and getting a feel of the earth yeah. Cos you've got so many energies bombarding at you in populations everywhere, and so many distractions, so it's really nice to get out somewhere where you can just '[makes the sound of the wind]'."

Luke: "...Did you find yourself getting into you know Inca history. Or was it more like...?"

Matt: "It was more like the feeling of the place. It was more like getting in contact with the earth." (2)

Here Peru is a place of New Age spirituality in that it provides an opposition to the 'energies of populations', by which Matt presumably means the urban, modern and western environments of the city. The contrast with the rural isolation of the Peruvian altiplano is made all the more meaningful by the fact that they are at a place which has significance as a 'primitive' religious site. Just as Molly's gaze over the landscape and imagination of the primitive allowed her to transcend the opposition between the past and the present, Matt and Kim's use the power of 'primitive site' to overcome oppositions between the natural and the human, or the spiritual and the everyday, allowing them to feel "in contact with the earth".

Kim draws on representations of Machu Picchu as a mystical site which contains the 'energy centre' of the world. She describes standing at the Sun Gate at sun rise with the sun behind her shining down into Machu Picchu, projecting her shadow surrounded by a rainbow onto the landscape below. This left her feeling "as though the sun was shining....straight through me onto this site in this rainbow" (1). This sense of participating in the 'primitive' is repeated at several places along Matt and Kim's journey, and amongst other travellers. There is a strong tradition of representing Peru as a place of primitivism that is particularly linked to ideas of mysticism. Margaret describes her trip to Machu Picchu as "a spiritual journey", and many of the tour operators I interviewed were developing 'esoteric tourism' packages for marketing in Europe and North America. This imaginative geography of Peru has been reinforced in recent years by the publication of James Redfield's *The Celestine Prophecy* (1994), first introduced to me by Margaret, which combines the genres of thriller and self-help book by narrating the search for the "nine key insights each human being is predicted to grasp sequentially...as we move towards a completely spiritual culture on earth" (front cover). The action takes place in the landscape of Andean Peru and culminates in the discovery at Machu Picchu of the document containing the highest 'insight'. The book has become a best-seller in both Britain and the U.S.A., where it has been used in the formation of therapeutic self-help groups for readers to discuss the implications of the 'insights' in their lives.

By way of contrast, it is worth pointing out that these representations of Peru as a place where the traveller can get in touch with the 'primitive' are not the only way in which

Peru is imagined as a 'primitive' space. For Mr Potter, on a short bespoke trip around Peru on his way to Argentina, the opportunities for encountering the 'primitive' are, by his reckoning, somewhat limited by his travel schedule. One of the best moments of his trip, however, was when the tourist train bringing him back from Machu Picchu broke down:

Mr Potter: "And I mean it was quite amazing because right next to the railway where we stopped, was a shrine. You know just hidden away in the grass. I'm sure that wasn't on anybody's itinerary. And of course everybody ended up looking at it, a full trainful of tourists. But it was [genuinely] really really exciting you know, just wandering about within a hundred yards of the train and coming across this, well, big pieces of stone that were the shrine." (1)

Mr Potter's story is, in many ways similar to Matt and Kim's visit to the little known funeral towers near Puno. But whereas, for Matt, the emphasis was on participating in an imagined primitive wholeness by 'getting in touch with the earth', for Mr Potter the stress is very much on the fact of discovery. The pleasure of finding the shrine is not so much in the mystical connections it provides to another culture, but in the fact that the shrine was hidden away in the grass, unlikely to be seen except for the chance break-down of the train, and was certainly not part of the usual tourist itinerary. For those interested in the primitive as spiritual, the pleasure is not so much in the discovery but in the 'vibes' that a place provides for their imagination.

Justin shares a similar way of imagining Peru as a place of discovering and 'exploring' the primitive. In part the expectation of 'discovering' the primitive is an 'imperial' fantasy which Justin sees as impossible in the modern world¹, but nevertheless Peru does provide the next best thing. Justin is an extremely keen trekker who goes on four or five day walks where he seeks to avoid other tourists as much as possible. These treks, in high mountain areas, include staying in small villages, which Justin enjoys because "I do like to be away from the modern world....I like the undeveloped side which, you know, it's not nice for the inhabitants so much, but I quite like to see it. So it's sort of an adventure more" (1). He goes on to talk about some of the places he visited:

Luke: "Were there places then where you felt like you were really not in the modern world....or?"

Justin: "There was actually, when we did the Ausengate trek [a mountain near Cusco], to get there, that was a day on the back of a lorry right. And we had to spend the night in a little village there. And I don't think it had anything like TVs or anything there at all. That was a really sort of poor little place. I mean the only contact they had with outsiders was walkers coming in, climbers possibly, but I don't think they had many climbers. And once we got up into the mountains, you know you do pass little settlements which are very much out of the way, which I did like...There's something that draws me to it." (1)

¹Justin: "Have you read that book by Maurice Herzog....[T]hey were trekking to this mountain and they dropped into this village, and the people in this village had never seen westerners before. And they thought they were Gods coming out of the mountains you know...[But] it's very hard to do that sort of thing now, it really is. Though I'd really love to do that sort of stuff." (2)

Where Justin's treks to remote mountain villages are in the genre of a latter day 'exploration', Jon uses a slightly different term when he describes his visit to the Uros Indians village in the reed islands of Lake Titicaca. He describes the trip as "spectacular" in an "anthropological sense". Visiting the islands is an experience where "you really felt you were seeing the real Peruvians" (1), who Jon enjoys photographing because they are both "photogenic", and "characteristic" of the country. Robert sees the Uros islands in a similar way:

Robert: "...it was lovely to see those floating islands, see how the Peruvians lived. How really the sort of peasants lived their life. On fishing. Presumably eating mostly fish they had caught in the lake. Because you can't grow anything on the islands, you have to get it from the mainland. So it was nice to see the islands and the fairly primitive existence on the islands." (1)

Like Jon, Robert sees the Uros Indians as symbolising a truly Peruvian and primitive way of life. Robert's relationship with the Indians is anthropological in a similar way to Jon's, providing the opportunity to construct an account of the people living on the island. This version of the 'primitive' links to Justin's and Mr Potter's in that all three men share a desire to survey and observe the spaces of the primitive, yet in no sense do they want to participate in or become the primitive themselves.

This section has looked at some of the 'discursive routes' which the travellers I interviewed followed in 'authenticating' Peru as a place where the 'real' 'primitive' and natural can be found. There are discontinuities in these imaginative geographies, as Peru can be narrated as a place of humane wholeness which can be used to criticise the modern, or as a place where the spirituality of the 'primitive' can be experienced in a mystical or sense, or where as a place where the imperial or anthropological 'primitive' can be 'surveyed' from the spectacular heights of modernity. But apart from the different versions of 'authenticity' which are narrated for Peru, what I hope these quotes also show is a concern with how this 'authentic' space of Peru is to be encountered and appropriated by the traveller. The next section looks at how travel is 'authorised' as providing 'unmediated' access to this Otherness.

6.3 Authorising Travel: the mobilisation of imaginative geographies

The imagination of Peru as a place of 'authenticity' is one part of travellers spatial imagination. The second is the authorisation of travel practices as providing access to that 'authenticity'. Travel practices have to be narrated as providing the traveller with a way of 'crossing borders' and encountering Otherness. In mobilising travel for identity, it is not just representations of Peru which are important, but narrations of the modes of mobility through which Peru is experienced. The importance of these authorisations of travel as a

set of practices which put travellers 'in touch' with the Other is that they provide the basis for the formation of tourism as it takes place on the ground in Peru. The ways in which travellers invest in these authorisations for identity has consequences for the social, economic and cultural formations of tourism throughout the world. Although tourism studies has usefully picked up on the imagination of 'authenticity' for places (for example MacCannell 1989, Culler 1988, Cohen 1988 Frow 1991), it has had little to say about how travellers imagine *travel* as providing access to that 'authenticity'.

6.3.1 Institutions, 'Border Crossings' and the Other

One of the most important concerns to the travellers I interviewed was about the institutional context through which they visited Peru. In the previous section, for example, Mr Potter's excitement about the shrine that he discovered by accident was in part because "it wasn't on anybody's itinerary". In other words, the shrine 'really' provided an experience of the 'primitive' for Mr Potter not just because it was a real Peruvian shrine, but also because he had discovered it on his own without the help of the travel industry. The 'authorisation' of certain institutional contexts of travel is powerfully implicated in the 'presences' which are produced by going to Peru. In telling travel stories, travellers are often at great pains to point out the ways in which their experience of the places they visited was the 'proper' experience, and their relationship with the travel industry plays an all important role.

So why is the institutional context of their trip so important to travellers in terms of the construction of self-identity? Recent work on the sociology of institutions suggests a framework for thinking about this question. Lash and Urry (1994) use the work of Anthony Giddens (1991) to explore the importance of the industry in what they term the social organisation of mobility. For Lash and Urry, it is impossible to be mobile outside some kind of network which provides security across time and space. Anthony Giddens places the need for security at the centre of his theory of modern self-identity. One of the key features of modernity for Giddens is the 'disembedding' of social relations from their local contexts of action². Giddens goes on to narrate an account of the self which stresses the need for 'ontological security', or a feeling that the surrounding world is in some way predictable. Giddens argues that we gain a sense of ontological security from the routines of daily life, where things are predictable enough that we can 'bracket off' anxieties about the future (1991:36-69).

In a sense, this ontological security arise from our 'practical consciousness', or the often unarticulated knowledge we hold about the places where we live, with which we conduct our day-to-day life. Giddens argues that mobility creates potential problems for ontological security, as moving across space to new social contexts means place-specific

²The same caveats to this basic argument apply now as they did in the previous chapter i.e. that 'disembedding' is not necessarily 'modern', and indeed the category 'modern' is open to question.

practical knowledge is deskilled. We no longer find it easy to answer questions about where to stay the night, what to eat, how to find our way around, or who we can trust. Instead we rely on 'expert systems' (1991:18), institutions that provide the knowledge we need to get by in new places. Giddens writes that expert systems are often professional institutions which provide for the disembedding and initiation of social relationships across space, by circulating the knowledges needed for personal security. Giddens goes on to argue (1991:124-126) that although disembedding is a risky business, these risks also carry a number of pleasures. It is risk that allows the individual to 'grow' as a person, to experiences difference and to open themselves up to Others. Giddens' account, then, stresses both the anxieties of travel, and its potential for a renewal or reaffirmation of self-identity³.

What Giddens points to is the inevitability of institutions in the translation of Otherness, because of the ambivalences involved in encountering the Other, and the need for some kind of security. Lash and Urry (1994) suggest that the travel industry plays a key part in providing the institutionalised expertise necessary for encounters with other spaces. They explore briefly the role of Thomas Cook in commodifying such a form of expertise in ways which reduced the risks and insecurities of travel. The role of the travel industry in providing for the ambiguities of travel can be illustrated briefly through a quote from Robert, who describes why he enjoyed travelling with Explore:

Robert: "One aspect of the Explore trip I found very helpful was that they gave you a map of every town....It gave me the confidence to know that if you left the hotel and walked down to a bar here, a bakery there....and although you didn't stray far, you can get a fair distance. Next morning we explored the local market in Puno, which was fascinating because I didn't speak a word of Spanish or Quechua but you were able to barter with them for a kilo of apples. You'd say one kilo or half an kilo...and with a bit of sign language it's great. You give them the money they want. I enjoyed meeting the local people. Trying to talk to them [laughs]." (1)

Robert faces a number of anxieties about travelling to Peru, anxieties which (although they are addressed at other points in the interview) are left unspoken here. Robert is clearly concerned about wandering too far, leaving him in a situation where he would be unable to retreat back to the security of the hotel. Yet, at the same time, his pleasure in meeting people in the market shines through in this quote. By giving him a map, Explore provide enough information for Robert to feel secure in his visit to the market, safe in the knowledge that it gives him a certain amount of control over the space of the town. The fact that the quote highlights the importance of the hotel to Robert's security also suggests that it is not just cognitive knowledge which is important to travellers, as Giddens would suggest, but a whole host of services and spaces which provide for the anxieties of travel.

³It might be argued that Giddens' account of the ambiguity of encounters with Otherness parallels post-colonial theories such as that of Homi Bhabha (1983). Bhabha characterises colonial discourse as one of ambivalence along the lines of fascination/disavowal, in which the coloniser vacillates between delight and fear.

The travel industry is, then, a central but ambivalent part of going travelling. Of course, not all travellers use the travel industry in the same way. For independent travellers, security and knowledge are provided by guidebooks, or institutions such as the South American Explorers Club, through the services of hostels or camping shops. Nor do travellers exclusively rely on the travel industry to provide security. Particularly for independent traveller, non-commoditised friendship circles with other travellers are an important way of sharing expertise and security. But inevitably the relationship travellers have with Peru is mediated through the various institutions that provide for their security. To continue the metaphor developed in Chapter 2, the travel industry is part and parcel of the ways in which travellers 'cross borders' and attempt to render the 'authenticity' of Peru directly present. This led to a tension amongst travellers I interviewed. In the interviews, as I will show shortly, it became apparent that the excitement of travel is that it offers to provide an 'unmediated' version of the world, a 'directness' which is not available through other media such as film, television or books. Cathy's statement that she visited the shanty towns of Lima and the Amazon rainforest because she wanted to bring her geography text books "alive" is a good example of this.

In order to present their travels as providing them with experiences of 'authenticity', then, travellers have to work at authorising their travel practices as providing an 'unmediated' version of the Other. The authorisation of the practices which achieve this 'border crossing' are part of the cultural work of travel.⁴ In the interviews travellers produced accounts of their practices which 'put them in touch' with the 'authenticity' of Peru. Because of the importance of the travel industry in the 'translation' of Peru, discussions about the institutional context of visiting the country were inevitably far-reaching. To question whether an individual was encountering Peru 'properly' was to question the whole basis of their use of travel for their identity. In this section, I work through the investments and anxieties which are placed in institutional modes of 'border crossing'. The next two sub-sections look at the narratives which are used to authorise independent and group travel, and the investments that are placed in representing these modes of 'translation' as providing 'unmediated' access to the Other. The following section (6.4) looks at the ways in which imaginative geographies and specific modes of 'border crossing' are used by travellers in narrating identity.

6.3.2 *"They might as well watch a cinema screen": authorising independent travel.*

For independent travellers, the opposition between their own contexts of travel and that of 'tourists' on group trips provides a well-established way of positioning their own travel

⁴In authorising certain institutionalised modes of 'border crossing', there is a sense of what Homi Bhabha calls 'anxious repetition': an assumption that certain modes of 'border crossing' can provide an unmediated view of the Other, along side a continuous need to repeat and reaffirm the assumption (Huggan 1989, Bhabha 1995).

practices. Here, I ask Jo if she would like to use the sorts of services offered by group travel, as part of her own trip to Peru:

Luke: "Would you ever go in a group because you wanted the information off a guide? Or do you prefer to go around places on your own?"

Jo: "....no I'm not really into groups, no I don't think so. I'd just find the information out somehow, just talk to someone [laughs]. I mean if you want the information and you can't get it you're just being silly really. Most people will tell you something somewhere along the way, even if it's just the guy in the shop or whatever. They're the people that know anyway. I think getting a guide...I have heard of people doing those like safari trips and they go right from the bottom of South America all the way up to Central America in like ten weeks or something ridiculous. And they had a guide that couldn't even speak Spanish properly, he just wouldn't know anything....And then they believe what they tell you, so if they're not informing you properly, [and] you're going to believe them anyway, if you're not getting the right information you're better off not being informed at all. Don't you think?" (2)

In this quote Jo explains the best ways to access authoritative interpretations of Peru. Jo is particularly interested in the provenance of the knowledge that she is provided. Group travellers, as far as she is concerned, have to rely on knowledge which is provided by a guide whose 'translations' of Peru Jo is reluctant to trust. The guide is presented as 'distant' from Peru, in the sense that he or she does not speak proper Spanish and has to follow a strict itinerary which means he or she cannot 'immerse' themselves in a place. For Jo, the guide's representations of Peru are therefore mediated in a way which she finds unacceptable. Instead, she turns to the 'man in the street', attempting to construct a 'translation' of Peru which is based in more personal and face-to-face contacts with 'local' people who she represents as steeped in knowledge about the place where they live. In other words, the voice of the shopkeeper in representing and circulating knowledge about Peru is seen as more 'authentic' over the travel industry's guide. It is this version of 'authenticity', where Jo authorises a set of travel practices such that the experience of Peru is seen to be 'unmediated' or 'transparent', that provides a major concern for many travellers.

Jo's comments also raise a second criticism of group travel. She argues that independent travellers have an important control over the rhythm of their travels, choosing the pace at which they move, whilst group travellers have to stick to an itinerary set out for them by their travel company. The fact that the group travellers who Jo met are 'hurrying' from one end of South America to the other in ten short weeks means that they are not seeing the place as well as Jo. Jenny makes a similar point when she says that group travellers are "pushed into rushing from one place to another", whilst independent travellers go at a "slower pace" which fits more closely into the temporality of the Peruvian "way of life". As an example, she says that her trips on the slow local public transport, rather than the faster tourist buses and trains, means that she can spend more time looking around. Travelling slowly means you get to see "people living their lives and bustling along with a

chicken in a bag that suddenly moves when somebody kicks it on the bus" (1). Group travellers see "snippets" of the real Peru, but the speed with which they travel means they move on too quickly to see much detail, or indeed anything more than a 'tourist' view of Peru. This use of local transport as a symbol of the 'real' Peru is shared by many travellers, for example Cathy's trip to Machu Picchu on the local train, and Jo's trip around Lake Titicaca on local buses are set in a similar light (see May 1996 for discussion of imaginations of temporality).

Cathy picks up on similar reason why personal control over the pace of travel is important:

Cathy: "...I think it's got to do with how long you spend in a place. That you are perceived by those that live there as a tourist, or someone that's passing through and someone that can provide money and income. Up to a point until they actually see you as a person, and the way they can see you as an individual is, I suppose initially, if you can converse with them and try and, you know, talk about something. So you can sort of sit down and talk about your life a bit or where you come from or just enlighten them a little bit about who you are. So tourists don't often get a chance to do that because they're normally on an itinerary of some kind. And travellers are also on an itinerary but sometimes it tends to be a little bit more relaxed, and they can change it if they suddenly meet someone they like. They can stop and say 'Yeah. Right I'm going to stay here.'"

For Cathy the rhythm and structure of groups mean that such travellers cannot build up the same relationship with Peru as that which she managed. Although Cathy is talking abstractly in this quote, she is referring to an episode in her travels where she started talking to a 'local' from Cusco whilst visiting Machu Picchu. She met him several times subsequently and eventually was invited to stay at his parent's house. Cathy changed her plans so that she could stay on in Cusco and get a look 'backstage' at life in a Peruvian household. She describes several incidents in the house which she sees as teaching about life in Peru, as well as increasing her knowledge of Spanish. Although Cathy sees limitations to her knowledge about Peru, saying that she would have to live there to know it properly, this sort of event made her much more knowledgeable about the country. To summarise, control over the duration of their visit, and their freedom to choose where they are to visit next, are represented as a form of control over time and space which Jo, Jenny and Cathy claim provides for a 'better' relationship with place.

A further way in which independent travellers authorise their institutional relationship with Peru is through narratives about the problems of 'buying into' the travel industry.⁵ Although independent travellers have less access to money as a resource for travelling, at the same time money is also a key symbolic way in which independent travellers, narrate

⁵Commodification has been given a key symbolic role in tourism studies as a marker of authenticity (see for example Greenwood 1977, Boyton 1986, Weightman 1987, Brunner 1991, and Littrell, Anderson and Brown 1993). I have deliberately worked through other markers used by travellers, such as issues of the provenance of knowledge, and the temporal rhythms of Peru, in order to point out that money is merely one medium amongst many of 'translating' the Other.

a relationship with Peru which is institutionally 'correct'. For some independent travellers the fact that they are travelling cheaply is a real source of pride. Sarah gives something of an impression of this sense of achievement compared with group travellers:

Sarah: "I met quite a few people on Explore groups who had gone for groups because they're scared to travel on their own. When they met me they were well pissed off, I tell you. They said 'Oh how much did you pay for your trip?' [Laughs] And what they paid for their trip, you know, I could have lived on for nine months. Well some of their trips were two grand. I spent two grand in nine months." (1)

For Sarah, spending less money is seen as a sign of competence, of being able to cope with travelling in South America. Going with a group is associated with a lack of self-confidence in your ability to survive at an everyday level in such a different country. Whilst in Peru, I found that one of the major sources of conversation amongst independent travellers was the price of goods and services. Many travellers took great pride in avoiding being 'ripped off', bargaining hard to get prices down, avoiding con tricks by those begging for money, searching hard for the best travel and accommodation bargains. The search for value for their money was linked to the fact that many were either on limited budgets which had to last until the flight home, or alternatively, their travels would end when the money ran out. But, apart from wanting to travel as long as possible, the investment placed in driving a hard bargain was part of a feeling of being a 'good' independent traveller, proof of an ability to spot the traps that were laid to catch the naive tourist who lacked experience and knowledge of the place.

To provide a further example, for Justin, the amount of money spent on accommodation is important in getting in touch with the 'real' Peru:

Luke: "...some people do get fed up with like the hardships of...[travelling independently]. And do want, you know, plusher hotels or whatever."

Justin: "I'm not that bothered about plush hotels....I mean one reason why I don't go to plush hotels is because I can't afford [laughs], certainly not for two months. They don't have that much appeal to me, plush hotels, they really don't. I prefer to go, you know we stayed in quite a lot of places in Peru and you feel much more part of the town if you're staying in a more, not a complete tip, but a much more lower standard place. Run by say a local Peruvian family or something. Rather than a hotel which is...run by people who are exorbitantly rich compared with the rest of the population there. Cos I mean you know you're just in another world. You could be virtually anywhere, somewhere like that." (2)

For Justin, spending money on staying in a plush hotel means associating with people and places which are not a part of the 'real' Peru, because spaces of wealth are homogenous throughout the world and do not represent local difference. Spending less money, in contrast, is a way of seeing a Peru which is truly different. Spending less money, then, is taken as a sign of experiencing the 'real' Peru. Kim has a similar idea when she talks about the difference between her travels and group travellers:

Luke: "Do you think they [group travellers] see the real Peru...?"

Kim: "I don't think so. I mean they see it, yeah, but they don't see the lifestyle as such, they only see what's put on for them. You know like the tour guide'll take them, and they'll probably take them to shops and you know they'll probably get a much higher price than what we'd get, for example. You know everything's, they're took round the nicer shops that do Visa and the nicer restaurants that do Visa and they're not even like [indistinct as laughing: 'backpackers?']" (2)

Like Justin, Kim imagines that the relationship group travellers have with Peru takes them to places which are expensive, represented through higher prices and symbols of monetary power such as the Visa credit card. Moreover, for Kim the group traveller is presented with an image of Peru which is flawed because it is marketed specifically for the traveller. Group travellers only have access to spaces which are not truly different to elsewhere. During her travels Kim attempts to avoid looking like a group traveller because:

Kim: "we know we're going to get ripped off but you think you're going to get ripped off more if you're like on a package tour. Because they ['the locals'] expect you to have more money" (1).

Independent travellers, then, have a variety of strategies for differentiating and authorising their modes of 'border crossing' compared with group travellers. The end result is an investment in independent travel as a way of encountering Peru which provides for a 'proper' experience of place, one which makes a real difference to identity. For Matt, independent travel is about "...trying to get more experience out of your trip rather than going on holiday and just having a break" (2). Jo makes a similar point when she says that group travellers "might as well stay [at home] and sit in front of a big cinema screen of it" because being in a group means they are not taking in the places around them. She goes on to say "I don't feel like they're getting actually anything out of being there" (2). Independent travel is associated with experiences of 'getting to know' Peru, whilst group travel is Othered as a form of mobility which does not provide access to the 'real' spatial differences which are imagined for Peru.

6.3.3 Assertion and Ambiguity: authorising group and bespoke travel

In contrast to the accounts of the independent travellers, group travel could be imagined as providing a 'proper' way of encountering the 'authentic' in Peru, in full knowledge of the criticisms levelled at it. Margaret, for example, went to Peru in a group, with a friend from Britain who had travelled independently in the past:

Margaret: "So when we first got there she [Margaret's friend] thought "Oh God this is awful, Butlins-by-the-Amazon", But she was just kind of recovering from a new relationship. She was in love and she wanted to get back to New York or wherever she was going to meet this guy again....she was thinking and talking about him a lot when we were there. I think she took it all in her stride, but you know she's travelled a lot. She's been to

Borneo and worked with monkeys, you know she had her jungle boots already and she was much more kind of au fait with it all...."

Luke: "So did you think it was Butlins-on-the-Amazon then, yourself?"

Margaret: "No not really. I think it was pretty well organised considering there were so many people and considering it was the first time they'd done anything like that....The thing is it was just such a privilege to be there, do you know what I mean? That's how I felt. I must say it was very alien to my regular life." (1)

Margaret dismisses criticisms from her friend that the group they were in was not experiencing Peru properly, firstly by using the narrative of her friend's love story to contextualise her criticisms in her desire to be elsewhere. Secondly, she sees her own experience of Peru as different to her friends because of their past travel histories. Whereas to her friend the foreign-ness of Peru is relatively familiar because of her previous travels in the 'Third World', for Margaret it is still unknown, and there to be discovered. Furthermore, Margaret effectively dismisses the importance of the institutional context of her travels by stressing that simply being in Peru was enough for her to consume it as a new experience.

Margaret's narration of her group trip as offering an appropriate experience of Peru is reinforced through many of the stories she tells. There is no sense of Peru as being staged; indeed the 'primitive other' is almost frighteningly accessible, as far as she is concerned. For example, she tells a story about refusing to go to an Indian village in the Amazon, where tourists 'trade' for ethnic products, because she does not want to "corrupt" the local people. On her way to Machu Picchu by the tourist train, an experience which several of the independent travellers I interviewed rejected as inauthentic, she stresses the Peruvian atmosphere of the journey as the Andes pass along outside her window, pan-piped music drifts through the carriages, and coca tea is served all round. The experience for Margaret is one of genuinely being in touch with Peru. There was no sense in which the fact of being a group traveller interfered her engagement as she concludes:

Margaret: "Peru really suited me because it's like there wasn't a moment to get bored, really. I think I'm a highly excitable, excited person you know. I want to experience everything" (2).

In other words, for Margaret the institutional context of her visit does not mediate between her and the experience of 'authenticity' in Peru, as the mere fact of travelling there provides for a 'transparent' view.

Molly, the Explore group traveller in her late fifties, also sees her trip to Peru as very much putting her in touch with the 'real' Peru. Indeed Molly provides a very direct

challenge to the ideas of independent travellers that their travel practices place them in a better relationship with Peru:

Luke: "....Now I think you said that you had a closer relationship the places you go than the teenagers?"

Molly: "Yes, I think that's true. Because in Peru I got the feeling they respect older people. Because you are older. And we've got grey hair. And I think they treated us with respect because of that. And because of that you warm to each other. I don't know, because you can't get into their minds, but I touch the children an awful lot, but I wonder if they would like it if a teenager did it?.....I don't know.....there wasn't a child I didn't touch, and cuddle or whatever. Which is very natural for me to do. And children do like it. So we get respect because of our age. I don't think the younger ones would get that simply because they're treated as young ones." (2)

Like Margaret, Molly also rejects the idea that the role of the travel industry in your relationship with Peru is all important. As far as she is concerned, her bodily appearance and ability to appear caring and grandmotherly place her in a far closer relationship with Peru than any young traveller can achieve. Not only can she relate to the children she comes across, but she also prides herself in her ability to talk to older people. She tells me the story that in Cusco she sat on a park bench with a local woman of her own age, conversing in sign language for nearly an hour as they shared information about their children, families and lives, an experience which Molly says left her in tears precisely because of the connections she was making with the lives of ordinary Peruvians.

But despite Margaret and Molly's imagination of their relationship with Peru as extremely close, other travellers expressed a certain amount of ambiguity during the interviews about the ability of group travellers to consume Peru 'properly'. Sophie, for example, is critical of the Explore group's day trip out onto Lake Titicaca to visit the reed island homes of the Uros Indians.

Sophie: "I mean it does work quite well in a way, cos you take the stuff over, you know, like we bought pens and bread and fruit and whatever, and it's quite a nice exchange. They're sort of doing something that you want, because they're looking beautiful, and sort of standing around the place, and they're letting you photograph them and look at them, and see their huts that they live in or whatever. So it's fair enough to pay in a way which is good, it's very direct and it doesn't involve money, generally, which is quite nice.....[But] people are bound to be aware of you and things are organised for tours, like the boats [tours in reed boats]. Which is nice, but it's still kind of laid on. It'd be nicer if nothing was laid on. Cos I think if you travelled on your own,...either those things just wouldn't happen at all, or else you'd sort of find much more real things. But that'd be very difficult I think, to do it on your own. So it's kind of an unavoidable situation I think." (1)

In some ways, Sophie is pleased with the relationship which the Explore group has with the Uros Indians because it consists of exchanging non-commoditised gifts for their co-operation in showing the group around their islands, taking them for boat rides and posing for photographs. Like the independent travellers I interviewed, Sophie sees non-monetary relationships as more appropriate than paying people. The situation, however,

still feels staged to Sophie, rather than a spontaneous 'discovery' of the Indians as they are getting on with their everyday life. The Indians know the Explore group are coming, and are waiting for them in order to sell their handicrafts. Sophie imagines that independent travellers would not have this problem, as they'd be able to get off the tourist route and see more 'real' things.

This sense that the organisation and staging of events by the tourist industry gets in the way of experiencing the 'real' Peru is also felt by Andy. Returning to Lima at the end of the Explore trip, he describes celebrating the accomplishments of having completed the Inca Trail by 'indulging' himself, along with Sophie, in a restaurant on the pier in Miraflores at the classy end of Lima. Andy says that the afternoon in the restaurant was "wonderful" because it felt as though he could splash out on an expensive meal, having returned from the hardships of a trek out in "the back of beyond". However he goes on to say:

Andy: "Although we hadn't really [been to the back of beyond]....I felt a bit of a cheat. I mean it wasn't as difficult as that really and it wasn't that far out and it was all very controlled, but it had the elements of [pause] contrast I suppose, and getting away from civilisation." (1)

Andy's sense of playing at being an explorer whilst exposing himself at the same time as a tourist, as enjoying himself *as though* he had really been travelling, is common to several group travellers. The organisation of the Inca Tour by Explore meant that Andy had a sense of the institutions of travel as 'mediating' between, and controlling his encounter with, the 'authentic' Peru. Linda, as a bespoke traveller, feels the same way when she describes the problems of going on guided day tours in Peru, where, she says:

Linda: "You're very limited because you have to get on the bus when they want you to get on the bus, you have to do what they want you to do. And I'm much more independent minded than that."

For some Margaret and Molly, then, group travel could be authorised as providing for a 'proper' relationship with Peru. For some other travellers, however, there was a certain reluctance to invest in the institutions of travel, and a desire to present themselves as more making compromises with their real desires, which lay in the imagined 'unmediated' encounters of independent travel. The cannot narrate the institutional context of group or bespoke travel as supplying them with this sort of experience of the 'authentic' Peru. In the next section, in exploring the institutional context of travel as a resource for identity, I discuss why these particular travellers narrated the relationship with the travel industry in this way.

6.4 Positioning Travel: 'border crossings and identity'

In the previous section, I looked at some of the ways in which travellers both authorised and contested certain institutionalised modes of travel. The networks of security provided by the travel industry were represented as enabling more or less 'unmediated' views of the Other. In this section, I look at how authorising and contesting the institutions of travel in this way is used as a resource for identity. In particular I want to show how discursive accounts produced by travellers in the interview situation were part of a dialogic process of narrating identity. This means that travellers were not only positioning themselves in representing the institutions of travel, but they were positioning me, as well. I explore the interview situation in this way in order to analyse the importance of the investments placed in the authorisation of travel practices by travellers in the narration of their identity.

Most independent travellers felt able to authorise their mode of travel in the interview by positioning me as a fellow young independent traveller with whom they could form an alliance against group travellers. For the most part, this positioning was an unspoken assumption which ran through interviews. The forging of such an alliance situation was manifest only in minor comments which appear almost marginal to the narrative of the interview. For example, in talking about Machu Picchu, Jenny says that the arrival of the tour groups on the train from Cusco somewhat spoils the atmosphere for her:

Luke: "So what happened when the tour groups arrived then?"

Jenny: "They just [pause] kind of they were like ants [Luke: laughs] all of a sudden everywhere. Did you find that?"

Luke: "Um. I wasn't really there when there were many people there actually for some reason, I don't know why." (1)

In asking me if I had a similar experience to her when I visited Machu Picchu, Jenny clearly positions me as an independent traveller who has suffered the same problems as her. In my reply, which is a slightly confused untruth on my part, I reaffirm to Jenny that I visited Machu Picchu independently, and could have suffered the same problems as her. In fact, I visited Machu Picchu with the Explore group, but did not want to explain this to Jenny as I felt this would displace some of the rapport we had built through our alliance as independent travellers, and my somewhat clumsy answer to this question manages to shrug off the issue. The interview continues as Jenny goes on to explore the problems she associates with group travellers. A similar assumption is made by Matt about my visit to Machu Picchu:

Luke: "So how did you find how did you find going to Machu Picchu then?"

Matt: "That was one of the highlights of getting to Peru. Oh what a place man. I mean you've been yourself there. It's really, just seems really special yeah. That's what I thought it's like 'Wow' [laughs]." (1)

Like Jenny, Matt assumes that I have had a similar experience of Machu Picchu as him, which, given his previously stated antipathy towards group travel, must have been as an independent traveller.

Whilst the alliance between independent travellers and myself holds up for most of the interviews, there are some situations where my position becomes more ambiguous, namely amongst those independent travellers who know about my Explore trip. For example, I interviewed Sarah before my trip to Peru, and when I told her I would be going to Peru shortly, our role quickly turned to one of advisor and advisee, as Sarah provided me with information about the places I would be going. When I mentioned that some of my travels would be with Explore, Sarah immediately positioned me as a group traveller. Although initially polite about group travel, for example telling me that her brother had travelled with Explore, as the interview went on Sarah felt more able to criticise group travel. She dealt with the conflict between her desire to protect her own 'modes' of travel, and to attack mine, through humour. For example here she talks about the problems of Explore groups:

Sarah: "you don't stick out as much as like in these Explore groups. Sixteen, eighteen [in a group] you know, and they've all got their Peruvian hats on and their Peruvian jumpers on. [Sarcastically] You have a lovely time, you have a lovely time [laughs]." (1)

This led to a conversation where I attempted to reposition myself as critical of tour groups in order to ease this tension and make myself feel less disparaged by Sarah:

Sarah: "I can't believe they're good value for money. I don't know how much they charge for their trip."

Luke: "They charge like £600."

Sarah: "For two weeks?"

Luke: "Yeah."

Sarah: "And you are doing the Inca Trail?"

Luke: "You do the Inca Trail and go to Lake Titicaca. I mean it's a huge amount of money isn't it?"

Sarah: "What I spent in two weeks, I spent about a hundred quid."

Luke: "That's not even [including] food, either."

Sarah: "Oh that included food, yeah. But my brother thinks the food was, he actually ran out of money in Peru. He said the food was [indistinct - expensive]. I thought well maybe they went to more expensive places."

Luke: "Yeah. I mean they're making a lot of money on it. You know. That's why they do it." (1)

In talking about the expense of the trip I am able to distance myself from the Explore trip. This enables Sarah to articulate a more critical attitude towards group travel, and to reaffirm her ability and competence at independent travel by talking about the her use of money on the trip. It is around the theme of value-for-money that the tension is, at least temporarily, resolved.

For the group travellers, forming alliances with me was more problematic. As I described in Chapter 3, my relationship with the Explore group was particularly intensive and demanded much reflexive management on my part, in order to avoid presenting myself as an independent traveller. However, the group often considered me as dealing with Peru in a competent way, especially through my knowledge of Spanish which meant that I was often asked to translate, and I even appeared to take on the language functions of the guide on a day when Ian, the British guide, was ill. Consequently, there was some difficulty raising issues of the institutional context of travel within the interview situation following the trip to Peru. Although Molly and Margaret were able to develop strategies which resisted my potential for undermining group travel, other travellers positioned themselves in relation to the institutional context of their trip by distancing themselves from certain aspects of group travel.

A good example of this was when, towards the end of my first interview with Robert I asked if he had been happy with the standard of service offered by Explore. His reply picked up the issue of accommodation:

Luke: "How did you find the overall organisation of the holiday? For example you know the kind of accommodation we were staying in and...?"

Robert: "I think it was ideal.....I like to rough it if I get the chance, but.....speaking as a group, there were professional people there of middle age, they don't really want to sleep on the floor of a dirty old room in a Peruvian hotel with bedbugs and this sort of thing, nowadays. For me, I wouldn't have minded roughing it a bit more, but for the group as a whole I think they chose the right sort of hotel." (1)

As I have already shown in the previous section, the standard and cost of accommodation takes on a key role in constructing an appropriate relationship with Peru. Robert distances himself from the group experience and positions himself more towards independent travel (he also refers to Safari trips in East Africa during his early adult years, where he slept in a tent). Robert represents the style of accommodation as something of a compromise for him, but one that he went along with for the sake of other members of the group. This 'distancing' occurs in a number of other travellers. For example, Linda talks about how

she would normally travel independently, but wanted to travel with a company in South America because she thought it would be so 'alien'. She goes on to say:

Linda: "I didn't speak to anyone who said 'Oh look just go'. You know if somebody'd said to me 'Oh look just go and you can out to the airport and get a flight to anywhere at any time', I probably would've. But nobody said that...And Paul [Linda's husband] was probably more apprehensive than I was about it anyway." (2)

7

Ambiguity about group travel is also presented in the form of fantasies about other forms of travel. Mr Potter, for example, describes being driven to a viewpoint overlooking the Andean chain near Cusco:

Mr Potter: "...to be honest that is something I would actually like to go back to do, because she [the guide] said they do treks along the top of the Andes, there's a path right along the top. And she said you get your own alpaca, you know, and you take your own food and your own bivouac or whatever. And she said they did trips with about four or five people all pulling your alpaca behind you on a string, you know on a rope. I must admit I would quite enjoy doing that. It'd be quite different." (1)

Robert has many similar ideas, often mentioning in the interviews that he would like to go mountaineering and climbing in the Andes. When I ask him of his trip to Peru as set new boundaries for his travels he replies:

Robert: "It's widened my horizons. I now think that, well, it's only a twelve hour flight to South America. I could go climbing in Bolivia next year. For twelve hundred pounds....Just fly to La Paz and organise it yourself" (2).

Both Robert's and Mr Potter's fantasies revolve around a vision of self-sufficient and adventurous travel, going to places which are 'off the beaten track' and relying on your own skills to get along. In part I think these presentations of a desired relationship with the travel industry are also linked to 'youthfulness', particularly as Robert is concerned that he may only be able to travel for a few more years before he is too old. In my conversations with Robert, where he talked a great deal about his climbing in his youth, it was clear that his expectations of me as a youthful person were that I would be more 'adventurous' than others on a group trip.

For some of the younger group travellers with Explore, a particularly strong form of distancing from group travel was a self-conscious presentation of the perceived problems of group travel. Jon's strategy, when I ask him if he thinks of himself as a tourist or a traveller, is to reply that he knows he is a tourist, but to maintain a distinction between Explore holidays and holidays where tourists lie on a beach. The difference for Jon is that Explore holidays do involve projects of encountering new places rather than projects of leisure. Explore groups at least "stay with and talk to local people". Jon sums up Explore holidays with the words "we dip our toe in the water a little bit deeper" (2). This strategy of representing oneself as a self-conscious tourist is used particularly by Jon and Andy to

undermine the possibility that the Explore group is involved in a 'genuine' encounter with the Other. In describing their visit to the Uros islands, Jon says that the pleasure of the trip is not so much the thought of an encounter with the 'primitive Other', but more "you're pleased to have seen it, been there and taken the pictures, you know in a very touristy sort of way" (1).

Andy undermines the trip to the Uros islands through a form of irony, saying "[If] you come across a village that had never seen Westerners before, [they'd] probably spear them for the pot!" (1). Jon also uses this sort of humour when he describes Explore trips as "the wimps option" (2). The use of irony is particularly important as we will see in the next chapter, and is a way of demonstrating to other travellers that you are not 'fooled' by what you are seeing. Irony is a way of positioning oneself in an alliance with other group travellers who think a listener may be critical of group travel compared with independent travel, and was particularly intense in my interview with Andy. Andy articulates his position in a more serious way in saying: "I didn't go on holiday expecting to go to remote places and see remote cultures. I expected on a tour like this to be going to see places that cater for people, [but] that are not on an enormous scale" (1). In other words, group travel provides a way of seeing places that are different from those experienced by 'tourists', but Andy and Jon narrate the relationship set up with Peru for them by the Explore company as a compromise with 'real travel'.

A further way of dealing with this distancing from group travel is used by Sophie. She represents her relationship with the Uros islands as 'touristy', but goes on to qualify this image:

Sophie: "...it's true that it was very oriented towards people coming to visit it. Unavoidable I guess, I mean you couldn't just pop in there, it so small and you'd disrupt everyone's lives anyway. So they obviously kind of focus what they do around people calling in.....[But] it was very beautiful, on the islands, looking at the landscape around, cos it was so, well it was just these amazing mountains and then it was so flat, just wide open I suppose. It was lovely. And being such a beautiful morning as well was good." (1)

Sophie presents the Uros islands in similar terms to Jon and Andy, as lacking in authenticity, but rather than using irony to do undermine the trip, she instead looks to validate other pleasures. In picking out the scenery of the lake she re-enchants the trip, not in terms of its anthropological value but in terms of the pleasure of gazing at the scenery around her. Her presentation of the landscape does not even mention the group, it is as if she has separated herself off and managed to make the most of her day out.

6.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have dealt with the spatial imaginations of the travellers I interviewed, through a focus on Peru as a place of 'authenticity'. The chapter has argued that travellers not only draw upon a set of representations of Peru as a place characterised by the 'primitive' and the 'natural' (amongst others), but that the spatial discourses of travel authorise certain practices as for providing an 'unmediated' relationship with the Other. In other words travellers invest not only in representations of Peru, but in the authorisation of certain modes of mobility which they feel give them an experience of Otherness which would not otherwise be possible. The final section has shown how important the narrations (and contestations) of travel as providing an 'unmediated' relationship with the Other are for travelling identities, through an account of how travellers used these narratives to position both themselves and me during the course of the interview. In conclusion, then, travel is useful for identity because its spatial imagination includes not only ideas about spatial difference, but an account which authorises certain travel practices as providing a unique access to Otherness. The importance of this act of authorisation is that it supports ideas of the 'proper' practices which travellers need to act out on the ground if they are to use travel for their identities. Naturally it is these practices which are central to the formation of tourism as a socio-economic and cultural force. In the next chapter, I look at how the authorisation of travel translates into practices on the ground in Peru.

Chapter 7

Practices of Travel: The Journey to Machu Picchu

7.1 Introduction

In this final empirical chapter I explore the *practices of travel* as they are enacted on the ground in Peru. I illustrate the connections between the construction of self-identity and the spatial imaginations and lived practices of travellers by focusing on one particular set of tourist experiences: the trek to Machu Picchu along the Inca Trail. In Chapter 5 I argued that tourism is used in the self-reflexive construction of identity, involving a re-imagining of the self in the context of specific socio-economic moments, for example during 'fateful moments' in people's lives. In Chapter 6 I looked at the ways in which this 'travelling identity' involves an imagination of space, through representing Peru as a place where travel practices are authorised to gain experiences of 'authenticity'. This chapter foregrounds the connections between these spatially imaginative travelling identities and the embodied movements of travellers through the sites and sounds of tourist Peru.

The chapter focuses on the journey to Machu Picchu, and more specifically the Inca Trail.¹ As an icon of the Andean world, and the most popular tourist site in Peru, Machu Picchu holds a special significance for most travellers and was visited by all but one of the participants in my research. Machu Picchu can be reached from Cusco by a four hour train journey on the fast and comfortable tourist train, or much more slowly by the local service, giving the option of a return trip made in a day or a longer overnight stay at a nearby hotel. However, the Explore group and several of the independent travellers I interviewed arrived at Machu Picchu by way of the Inca Trail, starting the forty mile trek half way from Cusco and arriving at Machu Picchu four days later (see figure 6).

In this chapter I concentrate on the Explore group's experience of the trek. I myself took part in the Explore group's trip along the Inca Trail, and I use the participant observation notes I produced along the trek as a way of expanding on the connections between travelling identities and travel practices. I do not want to claim that participant observation notes provide a more 'accurate' view of the trek compared with interview accounts given after the event. Both participant observation notes and interviews are accounts situated in specific moments and contexts, and are part of an array of discursive

¹For details of Machu Picchu and the Inca Trail in the 'tourist circuit' of Peru see chapter 4.

ways of 'dealing with' the trek by all participants which takes place before, during and after the event itself. Rather, participant observation notes offer a different 'way in' to the trek, because their context, agenda, gaze and genre is different from the interview. Participant observation notes highlight particular events, actions and interpretations which differ from the stories of the interview, foregrounding the traces of memories and details which may be pushed to one side in the interview situation (see section 3.4.2). The perspective offered by participant observation provides new insights which add to the subtlety and intricacy of the stories told by interviewees, and I use them in this chapter as offering an alternative method for exploring the connections between the lived practices and experiences of the Inca Trail, and the travelling identities of the people I interviewed.

The structure of the chapter consists of two intersecting accounts of the journey to Machu Picchu. Firstly, there are a series of stories about the trek, drawn from my own participation in and observation of the Explore trek, which I use to emphasise the lived experience of walking along the Inca Trail. Secondly, there are a number of 'Viewpoints' along the way, which provide the opportunity to reflect on the terrain of practices which has been covered and to point out some of the features of the imaginative travelling identities which have been encountered along the way. I use the term 'Viewpoints' in these sections of the chapter to parallel, metaphorically speaking, the Explore group's rest stops along the Inca Trail, which offered the opportunity for reflection amongst the group about its experiences and interpretations of the trek, a point when you could catch your breath and join in conversations which created shared and contested accounts of the various practices of the journey to Machu Picchu. Whilst my narrative account of the trek is mainly based in my own notes, I want to use the 'Viewpoints' of this chapter to draw in the comments of my interviewees about the trek, both those of the group that I walked with and those who arrived at Machu Picchu by other means, who I hope will provide something of a contrast to the practices of the Explore group.

Both the narrative account and the 'Viewpoints', then, are about presenting an idea of the practices of travel, and linking those practices to the projects of the imaginative travelling identity.

7.2 Starting the Trek: the Explore group on the Inca Trail

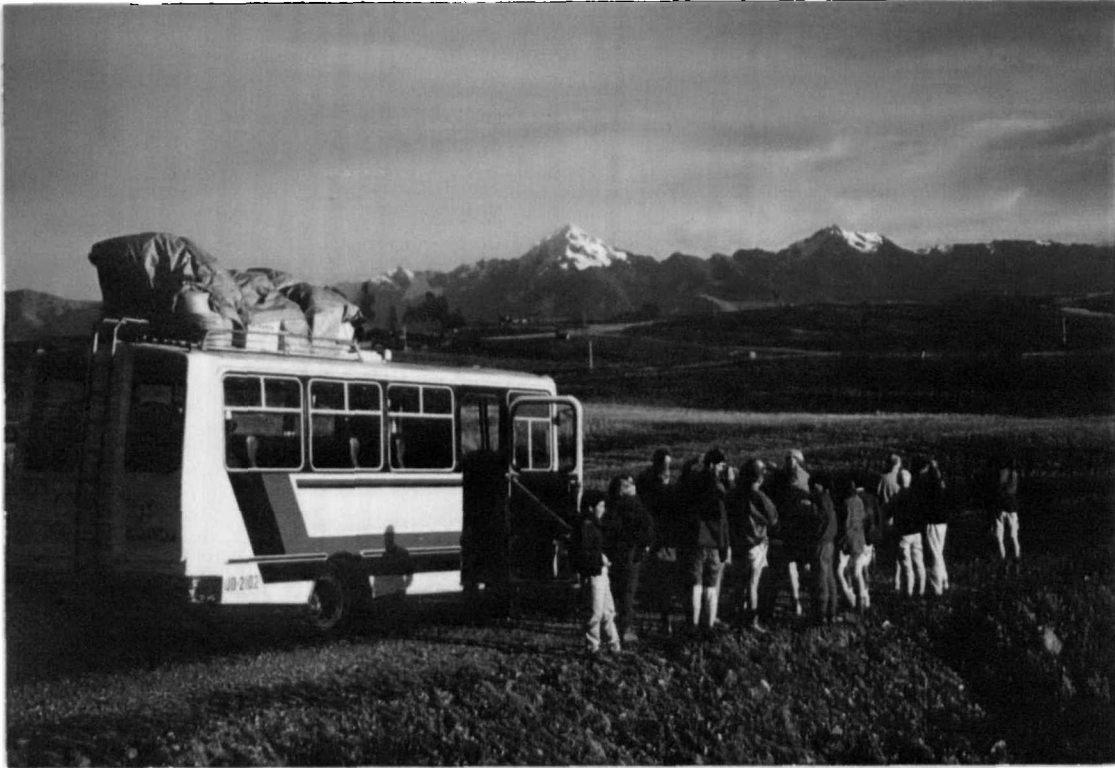
The Inca Trail starts at Kilometre 88 of the railway line between Cusco and Machu Picchu, in the Urubamba valley. It starts off by crossing a wooden bridge over the

gorge, passes a hut where walkers pay a trekking fee to the trail conservation authority, and sets off up a side valley towards the village of Huayabamba. The four day trek climbs up two passes of over 4000m in height, the first and most difficult of which is translated into English from Quechua as "Dead Woman's Pass", and descends the steps of the Inca road into Machu Picchu via its original entrance at the Sun Gate (see figure 6 for route).

Many independent travellers organise the trek for themselves, and there are plenty of camping shops in Cusco which sell maps and fuel, and hire tents, stoves, sleeping bags and other equipment the trekker might need. Alternatively, the independent traveller can join an expedition organised in Cusco by one of the many local travel operators based in the Plaza de Armas, who organise a guide, porters, equipment, food and transport to Kilometre 88. For those booking a complete group or bespoke package from home, the travel company (such as Explore) contracts one of the more reputable of these local operators to organise the whole trek, although the travel company's own guide also goes with the group.

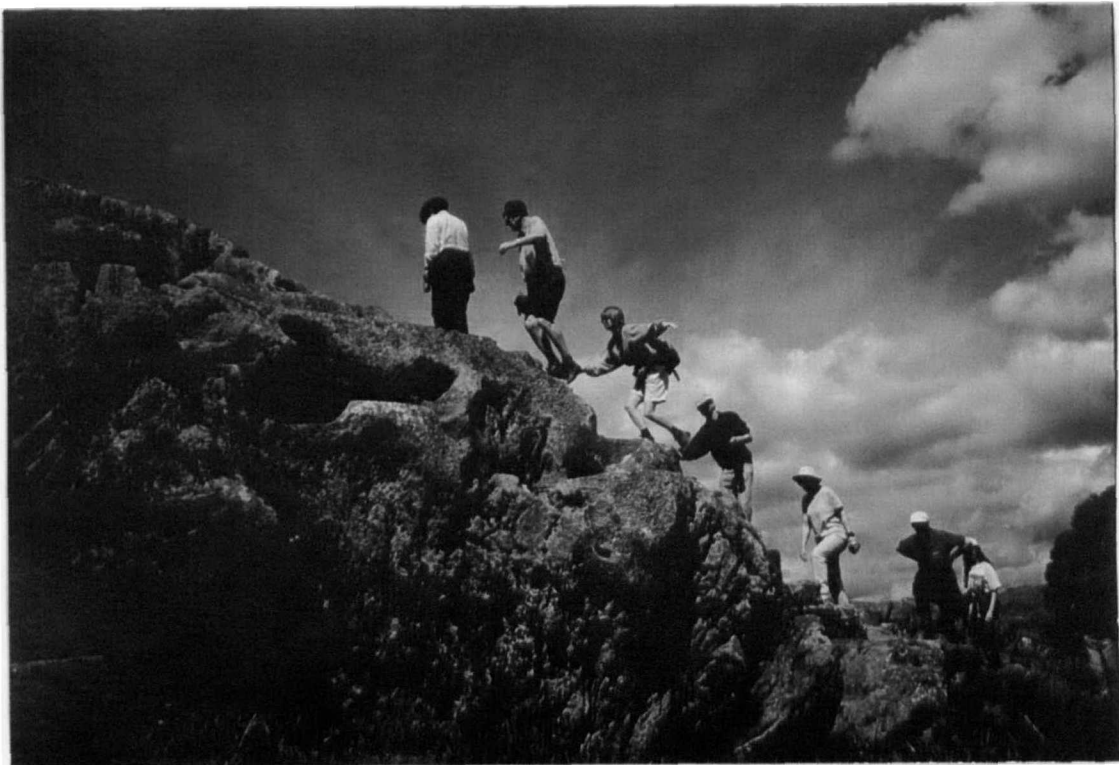
For the Explore group, the trek was presented as the highlight of the trip. The two week tour was called "The Heights of Machu Picchu", and the trek was scheduled in the middle of the second week, not only to allow travellers to acclimatise to the high altitude but also to 'build up' to the most exciting and challenging part of the trip. The trek served as a focus of anticipation and anxiety for the group, and the evening briefing in our Cusco hotel the night before we set off was probably the most tense and nervous of the whole tour as we quizzed Ian, the Explore guide, about how fast we would be going, how safe we would be, and how high we would climb.

The strongest point in Ian's armoury against this onslaught of concerns was the fact that the local operators were providing an incredibly comprehensive and well organised service on the trek. As the local guide and trek co-ordinator, Raoul, said to the group, "We know you have worked hard for your holiday, and that you're here to enjoy yourselves. What we're here for is to make sure that everything is done for you. All you have to do is walk." Making sure that we had nothing to do but walk meant that Raoul was in charge of a huge expedition. Twenty six porters carried all the equipment (apart from our small day sacks) and three cooks provided food along the trail. Arriving by minibus at the start the trek, (having driven from Cusco to a point near Kilometre 88: see figure 11) it was impossible not to be impressed with the sheer logistical organisation at work in setting up an Explore trek, as the porters loaded up a mountain of equipment and we set off towards the first night's camp at Huayabamba.



↑ *Figure 11* The bus takes the Explore group to the head of the Inca Trail. (ST)

↓ *Figure 12.* The Explore group set off on the trek to Machu Picchu (LD)





↑ *Figure 13.* Breakfast on the Inca Trail. (ST)

↓ *Figure 14.* The Explore group take a break at Wiñay Wayna. (ST)



The first day of the trek (see figure 12) set the rhythm and routine for the following four days. Ian and Raoul continuously stressed that everybody should walk at their own pace and not feel pressured into hurrying. The group quickly spread out with Raoul at the back and his assistant guide Max leading the way at the front, leaving Ian free to wander between us, chatting to different groups. Raoul managed the group carefully, stopping us every forty five minutes at a suitably scenic spot to get us back together for a break (see figure 14). The timetable of the walking day consisted of an early start, around 7:00am, and most of the mileage for the day was covered by noon, by which time we would have reached a spot where the three cooks had already prepared a meal. The group finished off the day by walking the relatively short distance to the evening campsite, with the porters having passed us along the way to set things up for the group before we arrived.

The sight of the campsite on the first day was the moment when the hard work being put into servicing the group on the trail became clear. Not only were the tents all up and ready, neatly arranged in rows with our bags waiting in front of them, but a dining tent had been set up complete with chairs, table and 'ethnic weave' tablecloth (see figure 13). Hot water was waiting for washing, and hot drinks were served up by Raoul and his cook, Maradona. Maradona also served up the evening meal to the group, carrying it in with a suitable touch of irony on a silver tray. Most of the group were taken aback by this service, and even those such as Jon, who had been on Explore treks before, were impressed.

The Explore group was not the only group of travellers to be walking along the trail at the same time. The Inca Trail is probably the most popular trek in Peru, and not surprisingly there were plenty of other groups, large and small, camping at the same spot as Explore. Also at the campsite, on a field at the side of Huayabamba village, were a group of independent travellers, who took offence at having to share their remote Peruvian village with a load of tourists and their accompanying noise, and set off for another place to sleep the night. The campsite was also used by a group booked on a budget tour through another British travel company. Budget tours work by cutting out the fixed contract with a local operators and instead ask the British guide to arrange local accommodation and services once the group has arrived at their destination, much to the annoyance of the more established local operators (see 4.2.3). This particular group had shopped around in Cusco for an operator to take them along the Inca Trail, and had chosen one of the cheaper operators to organise the trek for them, but were complaining about the poor level of service compared with the provision for the Explore group. So, with most of the Explore group feeling extremely happy with the quite incredible level of

service being offered by Raoul's company, and as they prepare for the long haul up Dead Woman's Pass the next morning, I want to stop off and introduce some of the key themes of this chapter in terms of the links between the sorts of travel practices I have just outlined and the self-identities of trekkers along the Inca Trail.

7.3 'Viewpoint 1': proper conduct and travelling identities

In this first 'Viewpoint' I develop a key concept for thinking about travel practices on the Inca Trail. To illustrate what I mean by this, I want to introduce the idea of 'proper conduct' by taking my cue from the practices of the different groups of travellers camping at Huayabamba on the first night of the Inca Trail.

7.3.1 'Proper Conduct' and the Travel Industry

For the independent travellers, who moved their tents away from the Explore group, there is a fairly automatic assumption that treks are best experienced with the minimum of support from the travel industry.

Kim: "We didn't do that [the Inca Trail] with a guide. Cos we wanted to do it us-selves so we just did it with us rucksacks and we had our own tent, sleeping bag and camping stove, cos we brought us own stuff along. And we just got the train out there and did that us-selves." (1)

Apart from the fact that this is obviously a cheaper way of doing the trek (as Jenny and Justin both point out in their interviews), Kim's repeated emphasis on her self-sufficiency suggests the symbolic value of the traveller's relationship with the travel industry in the practices of walking the Inca Trail. Justin articulates a similar point in claiming that if you do the Inca Trail with the support of a large group of porters, then "you've not exactly climbed Everest, have you?" The achievement of trekking is only realised through the self-sufficiency of carrying your own equipment and the personal decision-making of finding your own way, deciding where to camp, what to cook and who to walk with. Ideas about personal competence and individual achievement were central to the 'proper' enjoyment of Andean nature.

Justin's desire when trekking is for a gaze which is solitary and romantic in spirit: "one of the nice things in the mountains is just being away from everyone". Justin's ultimate travel fantasy, he goes on to say, is "to go where no man has been before" (1). In a similar vein Jenny complains that other travellers "invade your personal experience, [make] it more impersonal" (1). Jo provides a detailed explanation of why this is the

case, and although her comments are not specifically related to the Inca Trail, I think she suggests something which the other independent travellers would recognise:

Jo: "especially with nature and landscape I like to just sit and observe it by myself for a while in peace and quiet...I think when you've got other people with you all the time, they'll say what they're thinking about it, and it kind of influences what you're going to think about it without you even realising...Whereas if you're by yourself, all the opinions you have will just be totally what your opinions are." (1)

Although Jenny and Jo differ slightly from myself and Justin in terms of placing a comparative stress on the romantic encounter with nature rather than heroic self-sufficiency, all the independent travellers I interviewed saw their minimal reliance on the travel industry as central to their trekking practices.

For members of the Explore group, however, the travel industry to plays a key role in their travel practices. Although, in some cases, the role played by the travel industry may lie in an ambiguous relationship with the construction of a travelling identity (for example Robert occasionally articulates a desire to trek independently as he did during his youth in East Africa) in reality the Inca Trail would be virtually unthinkable without the assistance of porters. Robert voices this need in a way which reflects this slight ambiguity and protects his idea of himself as someone who could do the trek unaided. But in the end he is quite clear that the travel industry should play a large role in his travel practices along the trail:

Robert: "I appreciate my bag carried [laughs]. It made a tremendous difference. Because if you're carrying thirty, forty pounds on your back, you can't enjoy the walk so much." (1)

For Sophie, the travel company is central to her ability to gaze romantically at the Peruvian landscape. Going camping is the only way the traveller can be "at one with nature", as Sophie says in a self-conscious fashion. But not all camping is acceptable:

Sophie: "It was very well organised. Especially seeing those people you know Latin American Experience or something who were kind of roughing it and they just didn't have anything provided that we did....I don't like camping, it has to be at *least* that standard of camping otherwise I'm never going to do it again....I mean I don't like not washing for four days,...it's too constricted and you lose everything and you have to pack everything up in the morning and. But as far as it goes we were pampered." (1)

Camping along the Inca Trail holds a special significance in Sophie's travelling identity, as having allowed her to get into remote Andean nature, yet this sort of practice is only really tolerable if she is supported by the travel operator who adds in the sort of service which Explore provided. Far from sympathising with their fellow group trekkers at

Huayabamba, Sophie and other members of the Explore group felt they had made the right choice of operator who would dish up a proper service rather than the tuna sandwiches supplied to the other group. 'Proper conduct' on the Inca Trail for the Explore group meant using the services of the travel industry to experience Peru properly, rather than emphasising self-reliance.

Finally, the Explore group do not necessarily see the 'proper conduct' of the romantic gaze as being a solitary one. For Molly, the practice of travelling as part of a group is something more than romantically consuming nature in a solitary fashion. It is an experience to be enjoyed in its own right. She describes the excitement of sitting in the minibus with the rest of the Explore group on the way to the beginning of the Inca Trail:

Molly: "This is it. This is us. We are this vehicle. We're going to really be a team'. That was the first time I felt it was really a team." (1)

'Proper' travelling practices for Molly are not about imagining a heroic solitary identity for herself, but as seeing herself as part of a group of people that achieves something in undertaking the trek together.

7.3.2 Themes in the Construction of 'Proper Conduct'

What this example demonstrates is the use of a normative sense of the 'right' and 'wrong' practices. This particular illustration parallels the argument made in Chapter 6; for independent travellers there is a sense in which the 'proper' practices for doing the Inca Trail means 'avoiding' the mediation of the travel industry between themselves and the place they are visiting. For group travellers, on the other hand, the proper experience of place involves using the services of the travel industry. This sensibility of the 'right' and 'wrong' practices is what I will refer to as 'proper conduct', and in this chapter I argue that it connects the grounded practices of travel with the uses of travel for identity.

In the following two 'Viewpoints' I deal with other major themes in 'proper conduct' which emerge from my participant observation on the Explore trek. These are firstly, a concern with the body (*proper bodily conduct*) and secondly, with Others, both tourists and 'locals', along the trail (*proper relational conduct*). Here I want simply to illustrate what I mean, by refocusing on the example of 'proper conduct' I have just developed, before pressing on with the trek to the next 'Viewpoint'. I should stress that 'proper conduct' is far from being worked exclusively through ideas about the travel industry, as later 'Viewpoints' will show, but for now I stick with this example.

The role of the travel industry in terms of 'proper bodily conduct' on the Inca Trail is a powerful theme amongst the travellers I interviewed. For Justin (and myself) the imagination and enactment of the body as competent, capable and self-sufficient is central to the use of the trek in constructing self-identity. Fulfilment on the trek is measured in terms of the ability of this heroic body to stand up to demands placed on it, rather than turning to the travel industry for assistance. For Robert, on the other hand, the travel industry allays anxieties that his body will not be able to meet his desire to walk the trek, by supplying people to carry his equipment for him. For Sophie, the issue is slightly different; a comfortable body is central to a pleasant holiday, and without the travel industry to supply that comfort she would not want to do the Inca Trail. For travellers on the Inca Trail, 'proper bodily conduct' is a key site for establishing a relationship with the travel industry which is appropriate to their identity desires.

The second major theme is the problematic of enacting appropriate relationships with Others along the trail, or 'proper relational conduct'. For the independent travellers I interviewed, not only does the travel industry spoil the trek by taking on an authoritative responsibility for practices along the trail, it also introduces unwelcome Others into the line of the solitary romantic gaze, spoiling the individual experience of nature. For the Explore group, the sense of the travel industry and fellow travellers as being appropriate to the experience of the trail is seen in both Robert's acceptance of porters and Molly's enjoyment of the group's company. Nevertheless, the Explore group had to work out exactly what sort of relationship they wanted with the various porters and guides along the Inca Trail. A difference in travel projects on the trail brought some conflicts in terms of 'proper relational conduct' within the Explore group, as I will show in 'Viewpoint 3'.

The following two 'Viewpoints' take these themes separately in order to develop certain points about 'proper conduct', travel practices and identity. Of course in the reality of the trek they are not so easily separable (for example, part of the problem independent travellers have with other tourists is that their bodies are inappropriate to the romantic gaze), and I hope that the continued narrative of the trek will allow something of the intertwining between the two themes to show through. Having introduced the idea of 'proper conduct' through the example of the relationship between the traveller and the travel industry, and suggested the themes of 'proper bodily conduct' and 'proper relational conduct' as appropriate for exploring the links between practice and identity, I now return to the Explore group on the Inca Trail.

7.4 Mountain Passes and Parties: Days 2-3 of the Inca Trail

Having slept the night at Huayabamba, the Explore group started the next day with a warning from Ian that the morning's climb up to the 4200 metre col of Dead Woman's Pass would be like climbing Ben Nevis from sea level with half the oxygen. As the porters packed up all the gear, we set off with, along with a horse Raoul had hired "just in case". In the context of this sort of climb, the main theme of the morning was bodily competence. Molly and Robert took it slowly and steadily, both priding themselves on their previous walking experience and their status as the seasoned walkers within the group. Molly told me several times that walking slowly was the best way to really see the landscape, and that the young things rushing off in front might as well have their eyes shut. There was no point doing the Inca Trail if you could not stop to look at the orchids and ferns growing amongst the trees and meadow land of the high Andes. Molly took some of the younger women travellers under her wing, supporting them up the pass, and defending them from the tactless remarks of Maria (the scourge of the group who had complained about the Explore service the night before, much to the group's disgust) as she told people they were not walking properly or commented on their sun-burnt legs. Given the investment being placed by the Explore group in attempting to get their bodies to perform appropriately on the way up the pass (many had undertaken months of training to achieve this), these seemingly trite comments took on a great deal of significance.

For the younger men of the group -- Andy, Ian and myself -- the climb turned into a competitive test of bodily competence, with a tacit race to the top. Almost keeling over with dizziness and nausea, I reached the top and immediately put my coat on and fell asleep. Having been ill for several days before the trek, it was clear that my body was not living up to the performance I wanted it to do. The contrast between ours and Molly's way of approaching the pass highlighted the different ways the Explore group had of consuming the Inca Trail. Molly's was an experience of intense gazing, narrating the competence of someone who knows and understands the natural world and its beauty. My own practices were more about constructing an identity of masculine bodily competence, which faced a certain degree sense of failure if the body did not work in the ways hoped for.

Having said that the experience of the climb was individually constructed, it was also shared between group members. At the top of the pass, the group collectively celebrated our achievement, cheering, applauding and taking photos of other group members. Admittedly, some group members rejected this collective experience -- Molly later told me that the climb had been a very personal experience for her and she did not like being

applauded. But the group's reaction to the climb surprised me somewhat, as I thought that the top of the pass would provide the perfect setting for a romantic gaze over the landscape. However, the fact that many other people (including other groups) were there, and that the mist was coming down, did not seem to disappoint the group. Being at the top of the pass was as much about consuming the group experience as it was about gazing on the landscape.

The cloud that was descending began to threaten the day's trek as we started off down to the campsite. The hour and a half lunch was cut short as it began to rain torrentially, and although some people such as Jon put a brave face on it, most wanted to hurry on down to the tents. The problem was that Raoul carefully regulated the daily rhythms of the walk so that we would never get to see the 'backstage' preparation of the campsite by the porters in his very professional outfit. He carried this to an extreme by making us wait for about half an hour within five minutes walk of the campsite, chatting away to the group to make it look like a routine stop, so that everything would be perfect when we arrived.

The evenings at the campsites were mainly occupied with chatting amongst the group. A lot of the conversations revolved around travel, with talk about places that people had been to or wanted to go to, disastrous past holidays, current enthusiasms and complaints about the trek. In effect, ideas about travel were circulating through the group most of the time. Ian, the British guide, played an important legitimating role in this, talking about his own travels and lifestyle, and encouraging others to do the same. Ian described how he hated his home town of Oakham, because when he tried to tell people about his trips to Guatemala or India "they listen for ten seconds, then pretend to listen for ten seconds, then they go back to talking about Oakham football club". Sophie replied "That must make you feel good". Jon started talking about the sexual frolics and practical jokes of the guides on a 'Club Med' style sailing holiday he had been on in Turkey, commenting that the people in that group "have only got half the brain cells of this group". Ian agreed that he would be bored by that kind of thing, and would rather be here. At first I suspected that Ian had been trained by Explore to 'stage' this sort of conversation in order to 'coach' a culture of travel which would encourage return custom. In fact, I think he had invested as much in travel as anybody else in the group, but his authority ensured that certain travel practices were authorised and legitimated through these conversations.

At the beginning of day three, the rain had cleared to provide a perfect 'stage' for enacting our travel fantasies as we climbed the second pass. Unlike the first, it was more

of a steady gentle stroll, with no competition to reach the top. With Dead Woman's Pass behind, the group could afford to relax knowing that their pre-holiday training regimes had paid off. Raoul coached this mood along by promising "the best campsite in the world" at the end of the day. The only person with any problems was Robert, who was ill and asked the group to slow down so he could keep up. Later he told me that he had been on a trek where everyone had rushed off, and he had suffered quietly until the last day. He did not want another holiday to be spoilt.

The top of the second pass offered everything the group could have hoped for, with an incredible view over a cloud-filled valley to a group of snow-capped mountains. Everybody had their picture taken in the classic pose with our backs to the view. In itself this was interesting, as the collective experience of the group was still as strong as the day before, with chat, jokes and admiration of the view. Yet the photos were more in the genre of the solitary romantic experience. Jon commented on the incongruence of this, as he was asked to get out of someone's frame and pretended to be offended that they did not want him there. This became a standard joke along the trail, filling the gap between the holiday snap we would use to narrate the trip when we got home and the collective romantic experience of being at the top of the pass. Ellen, one of the younger women solicitors on the trip, did take the romantic experience slightly more seriously, often sitting apart from the group to look at the scenery and jot down her thoughts.

Below the pass we walked suddenly into the cloud. The beginnings of the cloud forest were full of drizzle and mist. Lunch was hurriedly finished and we pressed on to the "best campsite in the world" which turned out to be a soggy clearing with ten metre visibility. The afternoon stretched out with nothing to do apart from sit and chat. Andy and Sophie's attempts to get the group drunk got nowhere. Just before dark, Ian suddenly told the group to get outside as they were about to have "a once in a lifetime experience, folks". The cloud was clearing, not above and below us where it still hung thickly, but in-between a gap had opened so we could see for miles across a huge valley to mountain peaks with the sun on the snow turning them red and pink. The whole group stood there, willing the cloud to lift before it got dark, taking photos but not saying anything. The cloud drifted onto and off the peaks, and gradually the lines of light from the sun sunk below the horizon. We moved to the dining tent, upbeat at having experienced something we had more or less given up hope of seeing.

The event gave a brilliant atmosphere to the evening. Everyone happily joined in the most 'debauched' soiree of the trip, drinking the bottles of wine supplied by Raoul. Molly flirted with Noel, a fellow older traveller. Jon launched into a repartee of rude

jokes and started a ridiculous game. The whole group happily bantered with each other. The crunch moment came at nine o'clock, the usual bedtime (because we got up so early). Ian tried to maintain the atmosphere by offering to open tomorrow's bottles of wine, but some of the group was reluctant to continue with the party experience. Molly did not want to feel tired for the grand arrival at Machu Picchu. Andy and Sophie wanted to carry on, and were disappointed that no-one else would join them in drinking the bottles that had been brought along. On this slightly fractured note, the liminal space opened by the gap between the clouds closed once again.

7.5 'Viewpoint 2': bodies along the way

In 'Viewpoint 1' I developed the idea of 'proper conduct' as a link between the construction of self-identity and the practices of travel as they are enacted on the ground. In illustrating this idea, a concern for the body, with its responsibilities, capabilities, visibility and comfort, emerged as a key site for 'proper conduct'. In this 'Viewpoint' I look at two key moments, the ascent of Dead Woman's Pass and the attempted party on the third night of the trek, in the formation of 'proper bodily conduct', and the investment placed in it by the Explore group.

The climb up Dead Woman's Pass was a key moment because of the questions it asked about 'proper bodily practice'. The hours of hard slog up to the top of the pass gave the Explore group plenty of time to think about why on earth they were doing the Inca Trail. The momentum that was behind us as we made our way up the pass was an investment in *walking* as 'proper bodily conduct'. Here Molly talks about the difference walking makes for the experience of Peru:

Luke: "...do you think there is a difference you know to the way you relate to a place and then the way tourists relate to a place?"

Molly: "Yes I think so yes. This like going round Lima, I'm a tourist. But actually trekking I'm a traveller...the minute we're doing it under our own steam, you're a traveller. You're travelling on your own feet to get from A to B. And you are closer to the real people and the real thing. So you're more much more part of Peru." (2)

For Molly, trekking provides a more authentic experience of Peru. In her interview she expands on the reasons for this. In part, it is because in Molly's geographical imagination the 'real' Peru is found away from the city in the rural landscapes of the Peruvian countryside. But it is also because Molly sees walking as connecting her to Peru both past and present. One of the pleasures of the trail is the idea of walking exactly the same route as the Incas, experiencing the same struggles and enjoying the same

spectacular views from the tops of the passes. Molly imagines her experience of the trek as bringing her closer to the generations of Andean people who have walked the same route.

For Andy, walking does not so much provide an authentic experience as change the nature of his gaze. The fact that the Inca Trail takes him past several Inca sites which are inaccessible apart from on foot provides him with a more knowledgeable and meaningful gaze on the landscape. He compares his walking experience with the experience of those who arrive at Machu Picchu by train:

Andy "I mean I appreciat[ed] I felt so much more than for example taking a train there, where I think you see a bunch of rocks. And you would quite happily build up a history of heritage and the understanding of walking for four days of getting there. Seeing the other ruins along the way." (1)

Robert gives a similar value to walking in the production of travel knowledge when he says "if you'd walked, you would have felt much more at home with the place, much more as if you were exploring the country, on your own" (2). This difference between the gaze of the walker and other experiences of Peru also resonates with Sophie's point in 'Viewpoint 1' that the only way to feel really close to nature is by going on walks such as the Inca Trail. The Explore group invest in walking as a 'proper bodily practice' because they see it as producing a different set of experiences of Peru, whether they be more authentic, knowledgeable or romantic.

One of the uses of the experience provided by walking up Dead Woman's Pass (apart from the pleasures and strains of the moment) is to narrate and mark a difference in identity to Others, as Molly's comments about tourists and Andy's comments about the train suggest. For example, Jon makes the following comments about Dead Woman's Pass:

Jon: "Yeah, I mean the big pass, you know Dead Woman's Pass, you know that was pretty tough. I thought everybody did very well. That was one of the toughest sort of physical things just in terms of muscle aching and so on...I mean I like going on slightly demanding trips because you get a better quality of person. You don't get the couch potatoes, the ones who just want to look at the view. You get people that I suppose want to become more involved. I don't whether it's just that because it's more physically demanding. Maybe not really. But you tend to get a more, yeah somebody who wants to be more involved in the trip rather than just sit on the edge and looking in." (1)

In the interview, Jon uses the experience of climbing the pass as a form of class distinction between tourists, with 'better quality' people as enjoying the challenge of walking because they have an active rather than a passive body. Jon's joke that his

previous holiday companions on the sailing holiday in Turkey "only had half the brain cells of this group" also marks a similar distinction between tourists interested in a pleased, sexualised body and a 'walking' body. Robert joins in with this use of trekking when he adds that he enjoyed the company of the Explore group because they were a group of competent professionals rather than:

Robert: "...silly girls from the City who weren't used to walking, if they'd tried to do the Inca Trail they wouldn't have made it because they would have been wearing high heels and unsuitably dressed." (1)

For Molly and Robert, part of the aim of walking the trek is to plan reflexively for a 'fulfilled aged identity', which they contrast with an 'unfulfilled aged identity'. A 'fulfilled aged identity' is one which has collected together the experiences and ambitions possible when the body was younger and more mobile (both imagine bodily mobility as central to the collection of new experiences). An 'unfulfilled aged identity', by contrast, is one where the individual has failed to make full use of their bodies.² Both Molly and Robert see the practices of trekking as a key part of planning for a future 'fulfilled' identity:

Robert: "I want to do an awful lot of things before it's too late. Because I don't want to be 70 or 80 and in a wheelchair and think 'Oh gosh, I wish I'd climbed in the Andes' or 'Wish I'd climbed in the Alps' or something'. By 75 it's just too bloody late." (2)

Molly: "Stop and stare. You're allowed. That's the beauty of trekking isn't it. You can stand and stare. Look at a minute orchid that if you were at home you'd have trodden on it wouldn't you. You don't [there] because of the smallness and the beauty of the hugeness of it." (2)

For Robert mountain walking has always been caught up with a sense of self-fulfilment since his youth spent in East Africa and New Zealand, and is closely linked to ideas of freedom, independence and masculine bodily competence. For Molly, it is that the different pace and rhythm of trekking gives her a different gaze on the landscape, one which can escape the banalities of home life (such as vacuuming and shopping, she says) and instead take in the small and large scale nature of the world.

This use of walking as 'proper bodily conduct' in providing different experiences of Peru which differentiate the Explore traveller's identity from its aged or class Other *beyond* the group is not the only way in which self-identity links to practice. The micro-

²For example Molly describes some neighbours who retired at the same time as her husband: "And they were in their armchairs in the first week and he was doing the Sainsbury's shopping. And they've got their quilted jackets and went for a walk round the park. And I thought 'Well if that's my future, I don't want to know.'" (2)

geographies of practice on the climb up Dead Woman's Pass also reflect a desire to differentiate identities *within* the group. Molly mentioned several times that she was walking slowly because she wanted to experience nature on the Inca Trail more closely and intensely. As she puts it in her interview:

"Because there's no point in saying 'Well I did it' and then somebody saying 'Well what were the trees like?' And you say 'Well what trees?' Because people do do that."
Molly (1)

On the climb Molly was keen to point out the differences between her approach and the younger members of the group. Walking fast spoilt the experience of the trek because you missed everything you were there to see in the first place. In part, she joined with Robert in seeing this 'slow and steady' climb as a sign of experience and age rather than youthful immaturity, and both talk in their interviews about having learnt to take things in their stride through their experience of walking over the years. Andy, Ian and I, on the other hand, are involved in a different attempt to differentiate ourselves within the group. For us the competitive climb up the pass has the aim of demonstrating and enacting a youthful masculine bodily competence, of imagining ourselves as being more competent than the other young men in the group by surreptitiously comparing ourselves with Others.

But if 'proper bodily conduct' and its production of experiences of the trek is used to mark identity differences both within and without of the group, there is also a risk that the body itself will not be able to live up to what is expected of it. Molly picks up on a number of interesting points in the interview:

Molly: "You've got to be controlled but still enjoy it. I think it's yes, be controlled physically. And that will make you controlled mentally. So if you can get the two things working together. You can get all um excited and still enjoy it but you've still got to remember where you are putting your feet. Because if you fall you could knock somebody else over. Um. Yes you're vulnerable. In every shape and form. And that's exciting. That doesn't have to be a depressing thing. That's good." (1)

Molly makes two points here: firstly, about the actual physical investment she is putting into her body along the trek (which I will return to shortly) and secondly, the feeling of risk which the trek brings with it. As we've already seen, Molly's identity is closely tied up in the practices of walking, yet she is risking the possibility that she may not be able to do what she wants to do. Like all risks, this is both exciting and depressing: exciting because of the possibilities of constructing a 'new' identity, and depressing because of the possibilities of failure if things do go wrong. The risk that his body would not fulfil his identity ambitions was felt extremely acutely by Robert. He talked frequently about

the dangers of trekking, the potential for accidents and the need to take things easy. The explanation for this concern emerges in the interview:

Robert: "And just, I suppose, anxious about being able to walk the distance. Because although I've climbed up to nineteen thousand feet in the past, that was twenty three years ago and time does have its deteriorious [sic.] effect on one's body [laughs]. So I was slightly anxious of getting through I must admit. I think most people were. Just slightly." (1)

Robert is concerned that his body can no longer support the identity he wants to produce by walking the trail. For Robert (and others) Dead Woman's Pass acted as a different sort of 'fateful moment', when he found out whether this risk had paid off or not, and fortunately it did. In normal circumstances Robert would have been less concerned for his body for the rest of the trek, but the fact that he was ill from the second day onwards meant there was a continuous question mark over his bodily ability, although he was assertive enough to ask the group to slow down.

Molly's point about the physical investment she is putting into her body to achieve her identity ambitions is shared with other trekkers. Molly sees this work as the need for careful control over her body, right down to care about where she puts her feet. For other trekkers, the concern was more with producing a suitably fit body for themselves before they actually arrived. Andy and Sophie spent two months before the trip to Peru going walking at the weekends to train themselves for the trek, as well as equipping themselves with the right gear for the trip. Robert developed a complex training programme which culminated in a full weekend's walking in the Brecon Beacons just before he went away. In other words, all three invested physically in their bodies in an attempt to fulfil the demands of 'proper bodily conduct', though in fact the difference between Molly's and the young men's ideas of 'proper bodily conduct' on the climb up Dead Woman's Pass point to its construction as an embodied sense of conduct as well as a discursive one. Each traveller in the Explore group developed a sense of 'proper bodily conduct' which reflected the body they brought to the trail.

It is these differences in 'proper bodily conduct' within the Explore group which are highlighted in the second key moment of this 'Viewpoint', the attempted party on the third night of the trek. As far as Andy and Sophie were concerned, the failure of the Explore group to have what they saw as a real party was a major source of contention on the trip. They saw the rest of the group (apart from a young American couple with whom they became friendly) as boring and staid; close to spoiling the holiday for them. For Molly, however, staying up late drinking and chatting would have taken something away

from the next day's walk, or even meant that she would be unable to complete it. Molly was one of the group members who decided to split the 'party' up and go to bed.

As far as Molly was concerned, 'proper bodily conduct' along the trail was all about a controlled, gazing body, one which would be able to complete the trek and take in the visible landscape around her. This is not to say that Molly was uninterested in sociability along the trek. She did take part in the evening in the tent, but was not prepared to invest time and energy in having a 'party'. Sociability for Molly came through walking, for example on the way up Dead Woman's Pass she teamed up with a younger woman, Katie, to help each other up the steep slopes by chatting and joking with one another. Sociability came through helping each other to achieve 'proper bodily conduct'. For Sophie and Andy, in contrast, sociability was linked to a very different sort of body, one which was leisured, relaxed and slightly vulgar -- getting drunk, losing control, playing games with forfeits, using sexualised body language to flirt. These sorts of bodily practices were part of Andy and Sophie's sense of 'proper bodily conduct', because this was the way to enjoy yourself on holiday when young.

This particular event was a key moment because the different senses of 'proper bodily conduct' which the travellers had brought to the trail became visible. Though they were not openly contested through hostility, nevertheless the event shows the tensions within the group. This negotiation of 'proper bodily conduct' was important because firstly, it linked to the different identity projects which each traveller had brought to the trek; Molly's being more about a desire to experience new landscapes in the high Andes, Andy and Sophie's included more of an idea of leisure and relaxation. Secondly this negotiation of 'proper bodily conduct' feeds back into the practices of the trip -- whether the group stayed up late drinking or not. As it happened, the idea of 'proper bodily conduct' supported by Molly and most of the rest of the group won the day.

What I have tried to do in using these two key moments is to illustrate the construction and contestation of 'proper bodily conduct' in the Explore group. In many ways 'proper bodily conduct' is shared between the members of the group as they find common ground for using walking to build an identity which has people outside the group as its Others. On the other hand, 'proper bodily conduct' becomes contested when different members of the group bring with them different identity aspirations to the trek. These contestations about 'proper bodily conduct' spill over into the lived embodied practices of the trek as individuals invest in the different ways of experiencing the trek.

7.6 'The Big Day': Arriving at Machu Picchu

The final day of the trail started with a ceremony to give the porters their tips. The relationship between the porters and the Explore group had been set very firmly in our first encounter with the Peruvian team, not only because Raoul had explicitly told us that our job was just to walk rather than help, but because the porters made sure that we were aware of our relative roles on the trek. As we had got off the bus, Robert made an attempt to help the porters deal with the equipment, but was smilingly turned away. Whilst we picked up our small day sacks, the porters loaded the huge amounts of equipment onto their backs (see figure 15). The porters kept themselves separate throughout the trek, and only as they passed us on the way to the evening's campsite did we really see them. These were moments when I myself felt quite uneasy about my role in the Explore group. Many of the porters were either teenagers or older men, carrying huge loads, running ahead of us, with only sandals on their feet and a poncho to keep warm. At the campsite they ate their separate food rations (packets of pasta), and slept out in the open. Although they laughed and joked amongst themselves, any attempt by the Explore group to make contact, such as Molly's husband videoing them or Jon taking photos, was met with a stony silence.

My own feelings were firstly that the help I was receiving on the trek somehow questioned my own bodily competence, but more than that I felt our relationship with the porters was a fairly exploitative one. Max told me that he had been a porter before he trained to become a guide, and had earned US\$8.00 a day (compared with his US\$25.00 and Raoul's US\$35.00) for what he described as extremely hard work. Whilst I could see that doing the trek as a group might be more enjoyable socially than the experience of the individual guide Justin and I had paid to take us on a previous trek, I still felt extremely uncomfortable with the whole set-up.

This discomfort was pressed home by the experience of the 'tips ceremony' on the last morning (see figure 16). Raoul got the porters to line up on a slope opposite the group, to make sure that we could get photographs. The porters stood and chatted amongst themselves as some of the Explore group, particularly Jon whose main project on the trip was to take good photographs, stepped up to capture them. Raoul made a brief speech thanking the porters, and handed over our tips (about US\$15.00 each) along with several old T-shirts which had been donated. My role in this ceremony was to cringe with embarrassment at the back of the group, where I found Molly doing exactly the same. She told me that this part of the trek always made her feel awful, and that she would rather ignore it if she could.

Once again, we left the porters to pack up the campsite and made off down the last stretch towards Machu Picchu. The steep Inca steps went down through the cloud forest, past Wiñay Wayna ruins, until finally we came out of the bottom of the cloud and could see the Urubamba valley far below us. The walk continued high above the valley, until towards the point where we suddenly turned upwards over a ridge to arrive at a small gate in a wall. Raoul was standing in front of the gate, and as we went through the gate he shook each of us by the hand and swept his arm out towards Machu Picchu below, saying "Welcome to this, my country". We sat at the Sun Gate and looked out over the site that we had walked four days to get to. It looked small and far away, and the most visible feature was the white road which snaked its way up to the hotel. It took a moment to click into place and work how it fitted into the pictures we had seen, but suddenly the familiar Machu Picchu appeared. It was not a view we had seen before, and for me it almost as though I was not sure what I was looking at, an arrival that was not quite an arrival.

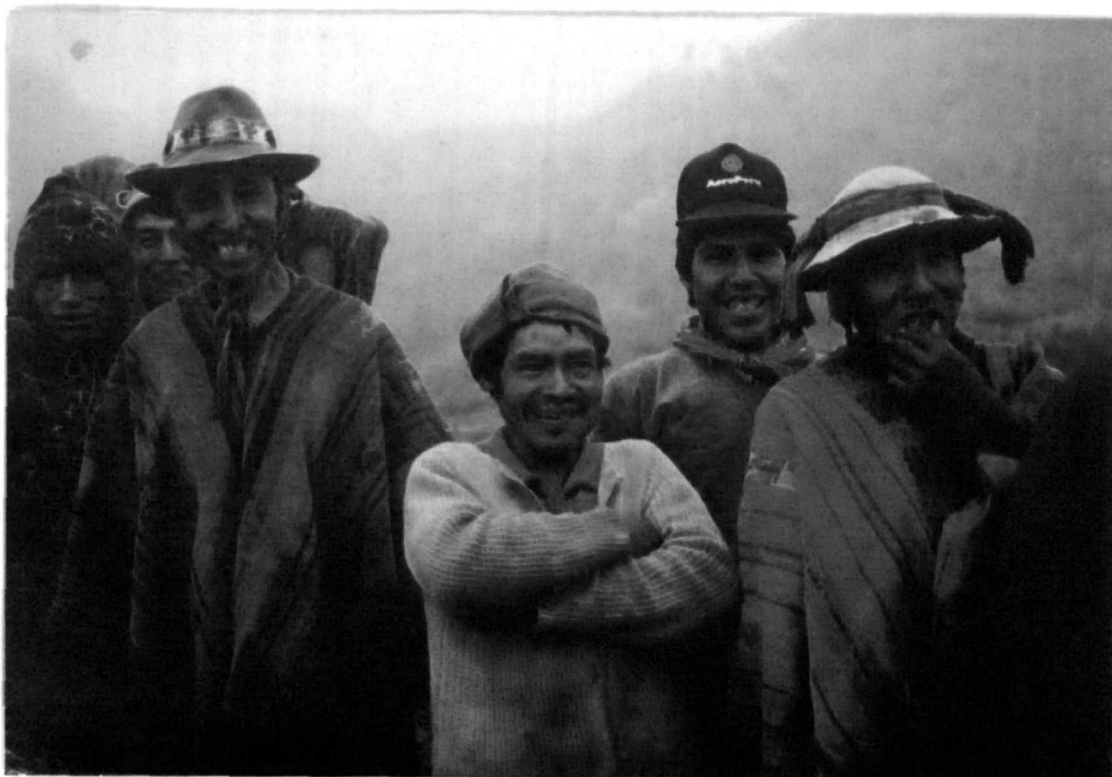
It was not until we walked down towards Machu Picchu and turned a corner to see the classic view that it felt as though we were really there. Jon made a few jokes about "So what's this place, then". But once we got into the site itself, it was as though the group had a very clear script laid out for them. Ian had suggested that our first day at the site (we would be returning the next morning for a guided tour) was simply for us to look around for ourselves. The group split up, going off on their own or with partners. Whilst the collective romantic gaze had been appropriate to the mountain passes, this time it had to be the genuinely solitary experience. After about half an hour, I came across Robert using a map to orientate himself on the site, and he told me about how he had wanted to come here for years. We decided to go to the central point of Machu Picchu, the temple area. Here the mood of the visit was different. Andy, Sophie and the two Americans, Tim and Anna were sitting around laughing and joking. Tim was shouting to his friend across the site, like a loud American tourist. Robert wandered off elsewhere, but this atmosphere made me laugh, as I felt as though we were being deliberately insensitive to our surroundings; especially when a woman started meditating next to us and we had to leave the area for fear of offending her because of our stifled laughter at the idea of someone taking the site so seriously.

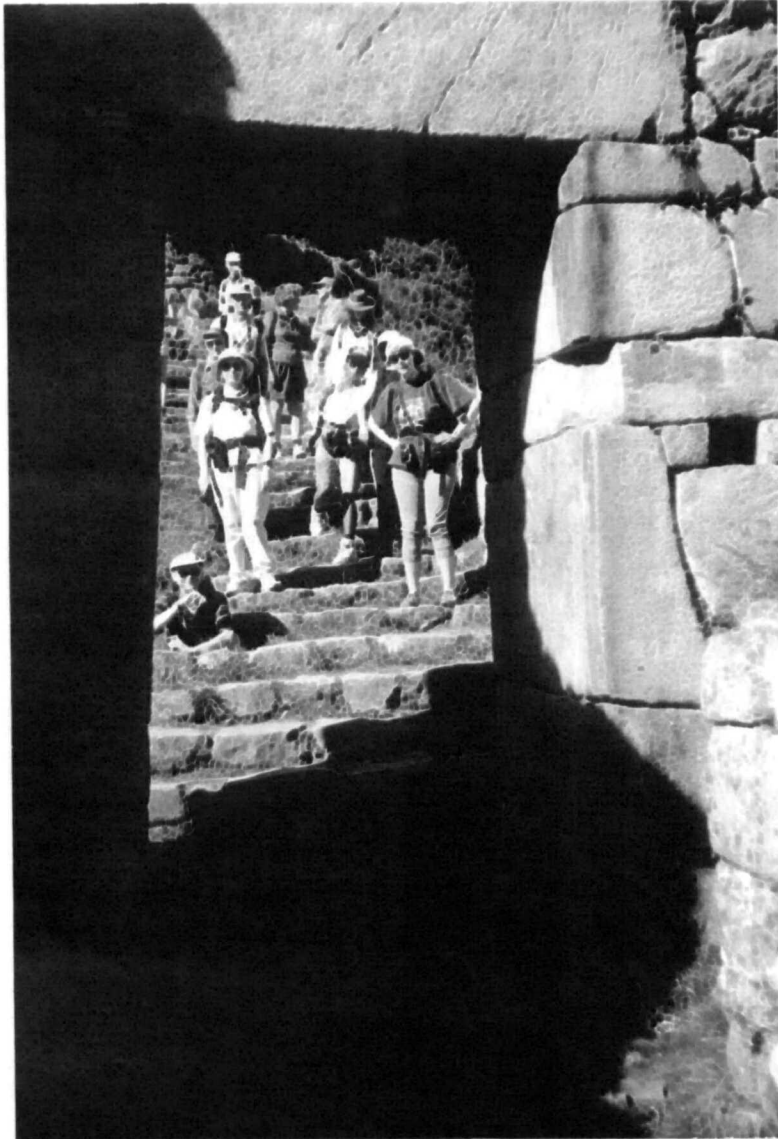
The trek ended as we were driven down to our campsite in the valley below. The last night's camp turned into a slightly fractious affair, as we were given our first taste of civilisation in the form of beer and pizzas in the nearby town of Aguas Calientes, but were forced back to the tents by Ian for another camp stew. This was all forgotten the next day as we drove back up to Machu Picchu, where the fog and cloud had finally



⇨ *Figure 15.* The porters climb Dead Woman's Pass. (LD)

⇩ *Figure 16.* The porters pose at the tips ceremony. (ST)





⇒ *Figure 17. The Explore group at Machu Picchu. (LD)*

⇩ *Figure 18. Scenery on the Inca Trail. (LD)*



cleared. The guided tour was a very different experience of Machu Picchu. If we had been 'coached' before in terms of an emotional script, this tour was very much the ultimate disciplining experience as Raoul guided us around his itinerary, authoritatively interpreting the site for us. As Raoul was explaining how the Incas cut rocks to their to make a perfect joint with no more than a stick driven into a fissure and then wetted with water to make it expand, Maria committed the ultimate sin of questioning his authority by announcing "I don't believe that!". It did not matter that most of the rest of the group probably did not believe it either, but more that the rules of practice about being guided had been broken. The group muttered under their breath, and from then on Maria, was placed well beyond the pale. For the rest of the tour, the group benignly accepted Raoul's knowledge, shuffling somewhat wearily round and trying to keep out of the sun. Raoul spiced things up with a few well rehearsed jokes of his own, but the best part of the day was after the tour, when we could simply lie around on the grass, taking in the site.

Machu Picchu did feel like a special place, and many clichés could be used to describe this feeling, such as 'out of time' or 'mystical'. Its place high above the valley gave it a cool breeze, and the tree covered slopes all around gave everything a green tinge. It was a liminal space, between the nature and work of the trek, and the return to the business of Cusco (and in two days time, home), and because of this it seemed easy to chat, relax, lie back and soak it up. Moreover, it was easy to feel close to other members of the group, as we were surrounded by people who had not even *walked* there. Somehow we had the right to feel at home there.

Finally the group made its way to the front entrance. We drove down to the train station, made our way through the 'Inca Trail' T-shirt sellers, on to the luxury tourist train, and back to Cusco.

7.7 'Viewpoint 3': Others along the way.

This final 'Viewpoint' looks at 'proper relational conduct', or the appropriate relationship with Others in the practices of the Inca Trail. In 'Viewpoint 1', I pointed out that independent travellers have a very clear sense that other tourists are an inappropriate part of the Inca Trail who spoil their experience of the landscape (and this tourist dislike of the tourist has often been remarked upon, see MacCannell 1989:10). As in 'Viewpoint 2', here I focus on two key moments in the formation and contestation of the Explore group's 'proper relational conduct': the arrival at Machu Picchu and the porters' tips ceremony.

7.7.1 The Arrival at Machu Picchu

The arrival at Machu Picchu was the moment when 'proper conduct' appeared to be the most 'scripted'. The experience the Explore group wanted to have at Machu Picchu was very different from other 'key moments' in the trek, such as at the top of the two passes. These moments had been important in that if they were experienced 'wrongly', then the value of the trek could be placed in question. On these passes, the group had not attempted to experience the landscape in a classic solitary romantic gaze, but had celebrated their collective experience in cheering and applauding members of the group and sharing the gaze by pointing out features in the landscape and telling each other about their feelings towards the place. None of the group complained about the fact that there were other groups of tourists around. This is not to say that there were no aspirations towards a more solitary gaze, for example Ellen often took herself off to write her diary, Molly complained about the applause, and in general the photographs taken by the group were along the lines of a solitary gaze. But ideas about 'proper relational conduct' changed a great deal in the arrival at Machu Picchu. On the first day when we had our own time to look around the site, each person took themselves off either on their own or with a close friend or partner, and experienced Machu Picchu in a solitary way, sitting and gazing silently on the landscape. I think Ian played a key role in this scripting of the arrival at Machu Picchu. He stressed that we had deliberately arrived at the site after the 'tourist train' had left for Cusco, so that we would have the site to ourselves, without 'tourists' there. This was the first time that a sense of other tourists as being in the way had been used in the group.

What is interesting here, I think, is the way in which these ideas about the proper experience of Machu Picchu were challenged by Andy and Sophie through the use of irony. I am referring to the episode in the temple area of Machu Picchu, where the group of young travellers deliberately enacted a stereotypically insensitive tourist response to Machu Picchu. Andy, in particular, had used irony to undermine the group's experience of several places. In the Uros islands on Lake Titicaca, questions of authenticity had been hotly debated by the group, such as why the Uros Indians did not wear the jumpers they sold as traditional local clothing, or how the Uros survived genetically as such a small group. Andy undermined the authenticity of the Indian group by joking that they did not wear the jumpers because they thought they were 'crap', and that they survived genetically by going to night-clubs in the nearby town of Puno. Sophie, similarly, used self-conscious, joking irony to dispute the experience at the top of the second pass on the Inca Trail. In the interview, she points out that they were gazing on a view which

"millions had photographed before us", so taking away the sense of adventurousness from being at the top of the pass.

As in the interviews, irony was used as a discursive strategy to let other people know that you do not believe that the experience of place being offered by 'proper conduct' is what it says it is. For example, that going on a reed boat on Lake Titicaca gave an experience of an authentic Indian group, irony was particularly used by Andy and Sophie in conversation with people they thought would join them in 'seeing through' the experience offered. For this reason it was not really used with the older group members (who they saw as being 'taken in') but with me, who as a tourist academic was more likely to be unveiling the 'reality' of the experience. Irony was also used to build up a sub-group of younger travellers in opposition to the older members of the group. The episode at Machu Picchu was a similar performance between myself, Andy, Sophie and the other younger members of the group to show our disbelief in the power of Machu Picchu to affect us in the way it was scripted to. The show of irony was more forceful here than on other occasions *because* the script offered for consuming Machu Picchu was so powerful. Only by an extended show of irony could the 'proper relational conduct' of the solitary romantic gaze be broken down and Machu Picchu experienced as a place for sociability, laughter and leisure.

7.7.2 The Ethnicised Other and Proper Relational Conduct

The tipping ceremony on the fourth day was a key moment in the formation of 'proper relational conduct' towards an ethnicised Other, the local porters. The ceremony was offered by the travel company as a way of thanking the porters in the form of applause, money and unwanted clothing, but the ceremony was also a moment for visually consuming the porters, especially for taking photographs.

Jon enthusiastically accepted the 'proper relational conduct' offered by Raoul, as he stepped to the front of the group to take photographs of the porters. Jon had tried to take pictures of the porters throughout the trek, but had not been satisfied so far because of their resistance his gaze. The tips ceremony was the perfect opportunity to produce a photograph which would fit into the genre of 'capturing the Other'. Photography, of an extremely high standard, was central to Jon's experience of Other places. He had invested a great deal in equipment and technical know-how. Talking in the interview Jon elaborates at length on what he tried to achieve in his photography:

Jon: "...pictures that will just be absolutely stonking pictures. There's quite a degree of satisfaction in taking a picture that I can look at and think 'That is a really striking picture.' Whether I subsequently do anything with it or not is not really the point. That's why I take

a degree of care and try and get nice pictures. And why is quite an interesting psychological thing...I'm very happy when people request copies of them. But that's probably more like human nature...as with anything that you've done yourself, you're seeking [pause] approval and you're happy when people can say "That was amazing!"

Luke: "But then also you're saying it's more than that as well."

Jon: "Yeah. You enjoy them for yourself because it sort of brings back the memories, and you look at it and think 'That is really good'. You know when you've done something that's good. Although you take a great pride in showing them to other people, you can't ever think [pause] that's the reason for doing it." (1)

Jon's photographic practices are based partly in the construction of a memory of the trip, but more in a desire to enact a sense of himself as a recognised technically competent person. In part this is an identity which he wants to use with other people, but more it is something he wants to demonstrate to himself. Jon's travel practices are at least in part built around the idea that 'proper relational conduct' is about capturing visually pleasing photographs, which he uses to construct his own self-identity as a technically and aesthetically competent man.

For Robert and Andy, the main feature of 'proper relational conduct' with the ethnicised Other was that the porters were there for infrastructural support. Robert initially attempted to help the porters with their work on the first day, wanting to feel as though he was part of the infrastructure of the trek in order to develop his identity as a competent mountaineer. However once his help had been refused, and as the trek demanded more of his energy, he became more like Andy, in seeing 'proper relational conduct' with the porters as being the distant concern of the travel company. Both had paid the travel company to arrange support for the trek, and it was up to the travel company to make sure the porters fulfilled their role. The porters enabled both to invest themselves in the trek, in constructing competent bodily masculinities, but they were quite prepared to let the porters remain an invisible part of these same competencies. Because they were not interested in either consuming the porters as Others, or in problematising their power over the porters, Robert and Andy neither rejected or fully participated in the tips ceremony.

Molly, Sophie and I, however, were involved in resisting or contesting Raoul's version of 'proper relational conduct'. In setting up the tips ceremony, Raoul was effectively offering a relationship with the porters which differed from the rest of the time we had spent on the Inca Trail. Whilst some of the group, particularly Jon and Brian had attempted to consume the porters as Others through their photographic practices, the porters had resisted by keeping themselves to the 'backstage' of the trek, parrying our

attempts to include them in the gaze by refusing to smile, look in the direction of the camera, or make eye contact with the group. The role of the porters was one of infrastructural support, and no more. The ceremony indicated in a stark way the power held by the Explore group over the porters. The act of handing over money worked to 'persuade' the porters to act as ethnic Others for our consumption under the full scrutiny of our gaze (although the porters continued to resist our gaze by laughing and joking amongst themselves and refusing to meet the cameras). This one particular contested act of power, of forcing the porters to the visible 'frontstage' symbolised in a stark way the general power relationship between the porters and the Explore group, making the moment an intense one for myself and some other members of the group.

In recent years there has been an attempt by pressure groups such as Tourism Concern to intervene in and re-imagine the terms of 'proper relational conduct' with the Other in the sphere of tourism. New terms of 'proper conduct' have been set out very clearly in the form of 'codes of conduct' published by Tourism Concern that attempt to spell out ways of relating to the Other economically, socially and culturally in a non-exploitative fashion. My own practice of resisting the tips ceremony emerged out of a desire to subscribe to this reworking of 'proper conduct' between the tourist and the Other. In terms of self-identity, I think this amounts to the use of travel in the construction of an 'ethical travelling identity'. At this point, I do not want to make any claims for this identity in terms of its benefits for people living and working in tourist regions (a discussion I will leave to the conclusion). Here, I merely point out the links between my construction of 'proper relational conduct', my travel practices and self-identity.

This rejection of the 'proper relational conduct' offered by Raoul was also used by Sophie and Molly who joined me at the back of the Explore group. For Sophie, the construction of an ethical travelling identity was also important at this particular moment.

Sophie: "I felt really dreadful then. I thought you know this is completely wrong. You know they're [the porters] doing it because they are being paid more than they can refuse to take to do it, so they have to do it....they're doing it because [pause] they've got no choice really. Financially. They've got no choice. They probably feel lucky to be able to do it." (2)

Although Sophie does not talk about the same sources of this reworking of 'proper relational conduct' as I have just mentioned, the discourse she is using is one based in an ethical rejection of the relationship with the porters being offered to her by the travel operators. It might be possible to explain this in terms of Sophie's desire to present an

'ethical travelling identity' to me in the interview situation, but I think her practice at the tips ceremony confirms my point.

Molly also resisted the relationship with the porters offered by the tips ceremony, but for slightly different reasons. Molly imagines the porters differently from Sophie and I, as she thinks they enjoy the tips ceremony rather than try to resist it. But Molly attempts to opt out of the ceremony because she says she feels embarrassed. She does not enjoy having her power over the porters pointed out to her; as she puts it she does not like to feel like 'Lady Bountiful'. For Molly, the tips ceremony disrupts her image of herself as a 'ordinary person'. To expand on the relationship between Molly's resistance to the ceremony and her self-identity, it is worth exploring her notion of 'proper relational conduct', which is based around an idea of 'reciprocity'³ where ordinary people treat each other with respect. She uses her experience of living in Brighton to argue for this sort of reciprocal politeness:

Molly: "Having lived in Brighton, and all the foreign students we have. We're pushed out of doorways and all sorts. They don't do it in their own countries. I know they don't. We wouldn't do in theirs.... So wherever I go, I like to behave as a guest." (2)

Behaving as a guest is a form of 'common decency', which all ordinary people should show towards each other as they visit each others' countries (as an aside, it is Molly who gets most upset about Maria's lack of respect for the authority of the guide, seeing Maria as contravening fundamental codes of politeness).

This notion of 'proper relational conduct' as 'reciprocal politeness' and guesthood is linked to Molly's construction of herself as an 'ordinary person'. Through her interviews she continuously stresses that her travels are something anyone could do if they had the imagination. The problem with the tips ceremony is that, in pointing out the power Molly has exercised in going to Peru and doing the Inca Trail, and in presenting the porters as Others who are not like 'us', Molly's sense of 'proper relational conduct' and of herself as a 'common person' is overturned. By being part of a travel practice which highlights power, Molly can no longer feel like a guest (guests do not give cash handouts, a gift would have been more appropriate). Once again, I want to leave comment about whether Molly's ideas of guesthood could form the basis for a more appropriate relationship with the porters for the conclusion: my narrative has been concerned with linking travel practices to self-identity.

³For a wider discussion of the notion of 'innocent reciprocity' in the colonial context, see Pratt 1992:78-85.

7.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have addressed the links between the construction of a spatially imaginative travelling identity with the practices of travel as they are enacted on the ground. By focusing on the practices of the Explore group along the Inca Trail drawn from both participant observation and interviews, I have developed the idea of 'proper conduct', or a normative sense of how to travel, as a useful concept in exploring these links. I have looked at the formation of 'proper conduct' on the Inca Trail in terms of 'proper bodily conduct' and 'proper relational conduct' (or the appropriate relationship between travellers and their Others). The argument is that 'proper conduct' is formed in a discursive sense through the circulation of ideas via conversations, guides, guidebooks (and most probably many other media), and in a non-discursive sense through the capabilities of the body. 'Proper conduct' is enacted in the form of practices on the ground which are imagined to provide certain experiences of Peru, such as of authentic, leisurely, knowledgeable or romantic. These experiences can be used, at least in part, to provide a marker of distinction between the traveller and Others. The enactment and narration of experience can be used as a resource for the construction of self-identity, both in the moment itself and in a wider sense. 'Proper conduct' however, is contested according to the projects of identity travellers bring to the trek. The importance of 'proper conduct' is in thinking about the formation of travel practices which are part of the socio-economy of tourist sites. In the next chapter I look at the possibilities for political interventions in travel practices.

Chapter 8

Conclusions: Tourism, consumption and the politics of translation

8.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I have explored the investments made by British travellers in their trips to Peru. The previous empirical chapters have explored the imaginative geographies and practices of travel used by travellers, raising questions about the pleasures and anxieties of visiting places such as Peru. In this concluding chapter, I develop the implications of these 'travel stories' for a number of arenas, including tourism studies, cultural geography, and more broadly, the politics of the relationship between British tourists and the 'Third World'. The first section of the chapter looks at the implications of this thesis for conceptualisations of 'the tourist'. The second section deals with the possibilities for a politics of tourism informed by the kind of empirical project I have conducted. Finally, the chapter looks at possible future directions for tourism studies and its intersections with cultural geography.

8.2 Reworking Tourist Consumption in Peru

In Chapter 2, I suggested a number of parallels between tourism studies, particularly John Urry's (1990a, 1995) writing on the tourist gaze, and Edward Said's work on Orientalism, in particular (1978), and the connections between culture and imperialism, in general (1993). The imperial and tourist gazes conceptualise the relationship between the West and its Others in broadly similar ways, in terms of the power of the West to 'silence' its Others, and a consequent politics which attempts to grant a degree of self-representation to those who have been represented without their consent. I went on to argue that a number of criticisms which have been directed at Said might also be usefully made of tourism studies. In particular, feminist writers criticised Said for his monolithic account of the relationship between the Self and the Other. Firstly, geographers such as Mills (1991, 1994), Blunt (1994a, 1994b), McEwan (1996) have suggested that Victorian women writers were placed in an ambiguous relationship to colonial discourse, both using and de-stabilising the imaginative geographies of the colonising powers. Secondly, writers such as James Clifford (1992) and Mary-Louise Pratt (1993) argue that relationships between the West and its Others are not characterised by the separation of cultural spheres as presented by Said, but by the circulation of knowledges across and between cultures. Such arguments place an emphasis on the power and politics of 'translation', in particular on the authorisation of certain practices -- 'border crossing' -- between cultures.

I used these criticisms of Said's work to inform an empirical study of contemporary long-haul travel to Peru. The ambiguity of travel discourse meant paying attention to the strategic uses of imaginative geographies in the construction of travelling identities. Rather than seeing the imaginative geographies used by travellers as forming a coherent unity and reflecting a pre-discursive identity, I suggested that empirical work on the discourses of travel should look at the investments made by travellers within specific spatial, historical and social contexts, used in the narration of gendered, classed, racialised, aged and other identities. Furthermore, the vision of travel destinations as a space of inter-cultural conversation -- caught in metaphors of 'translation' and 'border crossings' -- meant paying attention to the practices through which contemporary travellers encounter Others. The discursive authorisation of travel practices as giving presence to the Other, and the enactment of those practices on the ground are central to the investments made in travel for the narration of identity.

My account of tourist consumption, therefore, explores the investments placed by travellers in their trip, in the strategic uses of imaginative geographies, the authorisation of specific relationships with place, and their enactment through travel practices. I suggested that a 'travel circuit', starting from home, moving to the practice of travel in Peru, and returning home with travel stories, could be used to look at the constellations of imaginative geographies, 'border crossings' and identities which are at play in each of these contexts. Such a 'travel circuit' allows us to look at the ways in which identities at home and the practices of travel are mutually entangled. Investments in self-identity at home in Britain, I suggested, 'bleed' into and out of the practices of travel as they take place on the ground, half way around the world in Peru.

Three empirical chapters have traced the investments made in travelling to Peru amongst the fifteen people I interviewed. In Chapter 5, I introduced something of the role of travel in the lives of my informants, exploring the ways in which they used long-haul travel to re-imagine their identities at specific points in their lives. The imaginative geographies of long-haul travel provided a set of experiences which gave the people I interviewed a sense of personal fulfilment in their lives, although the kinds of identities they built through travel were not necessarily the same. For some, travel was about building a youthful identity, about making the most of the early years of their lives before they 'settled down'. For others, travel was about finding an alternative to a working life which offered limited opportunities. For yet others, travel provided a sense of satisfaction in old-age. At the same time, however, the imaginative geographies used by the interviewees were open to contestation and affirmation by those around them. Drawing on travel in narrating identity meant the careful and reflexive management of 'travel stories', as not everybody shared the interviewees cultural coding of their mobility. I elaborated on the example of

some of the women travellers I interviewed, who found that the construction of a travelling identity did not sit easily with their attempts to narrate themselves as feminine.

In Chapter 6 I explored the spatiality of travel, or the difference that travel makes to encounters with and experiences of 'Other' places. I argued that in addition to drawing upon specific imaginative geographies of Peru -- such as those which describe it as 'primitive and natural' -- travellers are involved in an 'authorisation' of specific relationships with Peru. In other words, it is not only the content of these imaginative geographies which is important to travellers, but the form they take, whether in the discursive poetics used in the re-presentations of Peru, or in the material practices of visiting Peru. I developed a case study of the institutional relationship between travellers and Peru, which stressed the way in which the narration of a 'proper' relationship with place was as important to travellers as the content of the place itself. The authorisation of certain institutional arrangements in visiting Peru was of great importance to the construction of travelling experiences and hence identities.

Having looked largely at the discursive investments places in the imaginative geographies and modes of 'border crossings' involved in travelling to Peru, the final empirical chapter looked at how these investments translated into practices on the ground. I used the idea of 'proper conduct' to look at the ways in which travellers discursively constructed and bodily enacted a relationship with Peru which they saw as providing an appropriate relationship with Peru as a place. In taking the Inca Trail to Machu Picchu as a case study, and drawing upon participant observation notes as well as interviews, the chapter showed the investment made in particular institutional, bodily and relational practices of travel. In pointing out some of the different performances of the trail enacted within the Explore group, I showed something of the diversity of ways in which Peru could be consumed through travelling practices.

This thesis has, then, reworked some of the ways in which tourists and tourist consumption are conceptualised. Tourists are not a homogenous group, but use the practices and discourses of travel in ways which are useful to them within specific contexts. Notions of the tourist gaze are therefore problematic because of their location of the origins of specific gazes within singular contexts, such as class. The concept of the tourist gaze also forecloses a wider understanding of tourist consumption by focusing attention onto the visual. I would suggest that studies of tourism consumption turn their attention to the 'translations' of people and places which take place through a variety of media, in which a variety of embodied and social practices are authorised as an appropriate way of consuming spatial difference. Projects which seek empirically to examine the practices of tourist consumption have long been neglected in tourism studies. Through this thesis I hope to have shown something of the potential of qualitative

research to say something meaningful about tourist consumption. In particular I hope to have shown something of the depth and intensity of the investments which are made in travel practices by the people I interviewed. It is this understanding of the investments made in travel practices I want to develop in the following section, which deals with potential of consumption studies for intervening in the politics of tourism.

8.3 The Politics of Travel: translation and tourist consumption

In this section, I look at the potential of projects on tourist consumption to intervene in the politics of tourism. This means taking a brief theoretical detour back into recent literature on post-colonial politics. In Chapter 2, I worked through a number of criticisms of the monolithic and authoritative accounts of colonial discourse which had been produced following the work of Edward Said. In the first sub-section, I suggest some of the political consequences of these criticisms which focus attention on the politics of translation rather than the politics of speech. The second sub-section uses this recent work to examine the possibilities for interventions in the arena of consumption. In the developing field of consumption studies, discussions about the form which interventions in the politics of consumption might take, follow a similar argument to that of post-colonialism. I therefore use a discussion of the politics of both post-colonialism and consumption to explore the contribution my thesis could make to the politics of tourism.

8.3.1 Post-colonialism and the Politics of Translation

As I argued in Chapter 2, one of the main political projects of post-colonialism has been to recover the voices of those who are silenced by colonial discourse. The ability to 'speak' and to possess a 'voice' are taken both literally and metaphorically as a sign of empowerment in the face of colonial oppression (Barnett 1997:139). In Chapter 2, I suggested a parallel between Said's (1978) analysis of Flaubert's representations of Kuchuk Hanem, the Egyptian dancer, as the denial of a voice to the Egyptian women because of her relative lack of power; and MacCannell's (1993) account of Locke, California as losing its voice because of its colonisation by the tourist gaze. For both authors, the political role of the academic is not only to point out the ways in which these representations occlude the voice of the Other. It is also to recover and articulate the voices of those who were, and are, silenced by the colonial (or tourist) apparatus, and to give voice to their contestations of the colonial (or travel) project. Such a political project has been most intensely formulated and contested within the sphere of subaltern studies which has largely been associated with the work of a variety of South Indian historians involved in rewriting the history of colonialism in the region (see Guha 1982, Guha and Spivak 1988 for a selection of work from subaltern studies).

This political project has perhaps been critiqued most comprehensively in the work of Gayatri Spivak (1988). Spivak's answer to the rhetorical question "Can the Subaltern Speak?" deals with a variety of theoretical currents and concerns, but there is a particular point I want to draw out here which concerns a shift in the politics of post-colonialism from one of articulating silenced voices to one of thinking about the politics of 'translation'. Spivak can be read as criticising subaltern studies for some of the reasons that Said has been criticised. Said is critiqued for neglecting the extent to which colonial discourse worked as a culture of transculturation, in which the knowledges of the other were translated and incorporated into hegemonic discourse. The authors suggest that Said's representations of colonised figures ignores the reality of the 'myriad activities' of colonialism on the ground. In that subaltern studies uses the term 'subaltern' to point to a group of people whom it sees as having been placed outside of written language because of their marginality (Barnett 1997), Spivak argues that subaltern studies also 'invents' a colonised figure who is similarly defined as being outside colonial discourse, and who can only be recovered through the authority of academic knowledge. Spivak disputes the claims of subaltern studies to be able to recover a 'pure' and 'authentic' subaltern, arguing that, in itself, subaltern studies 'translates' the subaltern into other languages, just as colonial discourse did. In fact, in claiming to be able authoritatively to represent the Other of colonial discourse, subaltern studies makes the same mistakes as colonial discourse, homogenising the diversity of subalterns and erasing differences between people. Subaltern studies should recognise that it is involved in a 'translation' of the Other in similar ways to colonial discourse (Spivak 1988b:208).

Spivak's writings on the role of silence in colonial resistance shed more light on the politics of translation. Spivak argues that silence has played a crucial role in colonial resistance. Silence, for Spivak, is not necessarily as sign of powerlessness, but part of a strategy of resisting translation into other cultural realms (see discussion between Spivak 1991 and Parry 1991 on silence and resistance, a debate outlined in Barnett 1997). Given that colonial authority rests on its ability to claim to 'know' the Other, to be able to translate the essence of the Other into terms which are understandable to the 'West', then silence can be an effective way of claiming agency in the face of demands for transparency and visibility, when the terms and benefits of that 'translation' are set by the powerful. This is not to say that Spivak necessarily sees silence as better than speech, but rather her writing on silence highlights the politics of 'translation'. Rather than following the argument that giving voice is necessarily always empowering, Spivak's argument is that having a voice is only empowering if the terms of translation are not set by the powerful person in the dialogue. Subaltern studies, in placing an emphasis on giving voice to the Other, has the potential to 'translate' Others in ways which are still based in its own terms; for example, in 'translating' the voice of Others in ways which shore up the discipline's own political and professional investments. The important point I want to

draw out of Spivak's argument is that the response to colonial discourse should not necessarily be to assume that academics hold the key to the voicing of marginalised positions. Rather, it is worth considering the terms by which 'translations' between and across cultures are made.

8.3.2 Translation and Tourist Consumption

To illustrate this politics of 'translation' within the field of tourism, I now turn to the work of Anne Maxwell (1993). Maxwell writes about Makareti, an Maori woman who began her adult life at the turn of the nineteenth century as tourist guide in New Zealand and ended it having received a doctorate from the University of Oxford for ethnographic work on pre-colonial Maori customs. According to Maxwell, Makareti was denied the usual opportunities to present her own in voice in the *Marae*, the main political platform for Maori political debate. Consequently, she turned to tourism to voice her story and political positions. Maxwell argues that Makareti used the colonial discourses of tourism, particularly through using tourist ideas of authenticity to claim the authority to speak for the Maoris. She saw guiding tourists as political work which would position Maori culture, especially Maori women, as equal to Europeans. Makareti developed a hybrid persona, lying between European and Maori culture, for example calling herself by the name 'Maggie' when dealing with tourists, but also constructing herself as someone who could provide an authoritative translation of Maori culture.

What Maxwell emphasises, however, is the control that Makareti had over these 'translations'. In her ethnography of the Maoris, for example, Makareti writes about the subject of marriage between Europeans and Maoris:

"In all the pakeha and Maori marriages, it was the women who married the pakeha. The Maori men would not have anything to do with a wahine pakeha. Such marriages were very rare....I often asked my uncles why this did not happen, and their answers were very funny. English people would not understand the reason, even if I wrote it." (Makareti 1986:ix, quoted Maxwell 1993:31)

Maxwell argues that Makareti, in consultation with Maori elders, carefully calculated the extent of her 'revelations' about Maori culture. In referring to the reasons why Maori men do not marry white women, and then remaining silent on their content, Makareti demonstrates her power to control the means through which cross-cultural 'translations' are made.

Just as Spivak argues that the colonised can use silence as a way of denying the possibilities of 'translation', so Maxwell provides an excellent account of a colonised woman who used colonial discourse in order to articulate a voice for herself, but who remained in control of the 'translations' of her difference by remaining silent, and refusing to lay open to 'translation' certain aspects of herself. What Maxwell is arguing,

then, is that rather than seeing colonial discourse as silencing Others, and engaging with a politics of recovering 'their' voices, we need to look at the politics of translation. This is a politics about who has control of the circulation of representations of knowledge. This raises many questions. Who has the power to 'translate'? On whose terms are 'translations' made? Who can refuse to be 'translated' and so assert their difference? Who can decide to acquiesce in being 'translated'? How can interventions be made in the terms of 'translation' of travel and tourism?

As Maxwell's story of Makareti suggests, the politics of 'translation' is something which is ongoing on a daily basis within the arena of tourism. In looking at the relationship between tourists and Peru, there are a number of different sources of intervention in 'translating' Peru to tourists. Here I want to briefly touch on a few examples. Travel companies such as Explore are keen to present themselves as intervening in the institutional relationship between travellers and the places they visit. In marketing themselves as a small group company, with no more than 20 people on any one tour, Explore narrates itself as a company which constructs environmentally sound relationships with the places it visits. It also sees small groups as cutting down on the cultural impact of trips. Small groups are presented as providing a better, more knowledgeable experience of places such as Peru (Explore brochure 1997). In other words, Explore intervenes in the politics of 'translation' by constructing itself as an institution which provides for a politically sensitive and culturally authoritative encounter with the Otherness of Peru. As I mentioned in Chapter 7, the construction of an ethical relationship with tourist destinations is, in part, due to the work of institutions such as Tourism Concern, who in producing a 'code of conduct' for tourists which covers for example issues such as taking photographs, attempt to regulate the translations tourists make of the places they visit.

Interventions in the politics of 'translation' are not restricted to the sphere of 'Western' institutions. Looking back over the history of Peru's tourist institutions, a picture emerges of long-running tensions which focus on tourism, between a desire to present Peru to the outside world, and an opposing force which argues for the an inward facing 'Peruvianisation'. The Peruvian state, in other words, was attempting to control the terms of 'translations' of Peru to the outside world. On the contemporary scene, although the state has left foreign marketing to the private sector, it is still very much involved in intervening in the politics of tourism. FOPTUR (the Peruvian state tourist authority), ran a campaign in 1996 using the slogan '*El turista es su amigo*', 'The tourist is your friend', pointing to the benefits of tourism to the country's economy, and suggesting that it is the duty of all Peruvians to help visitors to the country. The campaign aimed to raise a '*conciencia turistica*', or a culture where Peru would be a friendly place to visit. The campaign, at least implicitly, seems to address one of the main problems of tourism.

People can be consumed through the tourist gaze without receiving any of the surpluses offered by tourism, least of all economically. The campaign aimed to convince people outside the tourist industry that acquiescing in this consumption would provide economic benefits for all, although clearly the most direct economic benefits would be gained by tourist companies. Local resistance to such unpaid 'translation' by tourists could be found, for example, in the resistance of the porters on the Inca Trail to their visual consumption, or in the common demand that photographers should pay for the privilege of consuming Peruvians through their pictures. Resisting tourists in this way means walking a tightrope between trying to avoid consumption, and attempting to set the terms of consumption in favour of individuals who would normally be excluded from having a say in how tourists relate to them.

Given that a number of interventions can be made by different institutions at different points in the tourist system of provision, I want to focus here on the possibilities of intervening in tourist consumer cultures. Cook and Crang (1996) trace some of the political possibilities of intervening in consumer culture, and in many ways their argument parallels the one I have made so far in this section. In the context of 'culinary culture', Cook and Crang argue that many criticisms of the 'superficial' knowledge held by consumers about the effect they have on food producers could be countered by authoritative accounts of the origins of food products. This political strategy echoes that of Said and MacCannell, in that it attempts to recuperate voices which are seen as being excluded by imperialism and tourism on the one hand, or food commodification, on the other. Whilst it is worth acknowledging that such accounts which 'unveil' the 'true' nature of those who are silenced can be politically extremely effective (see Hall 1990, Brydon 1991), Cook and Crang offer a number of pertinent criticisms of this sort of politics. Firstly, such authoritative accounts of the 'real story' fit slightly too neatly and unreflexively into notions of academic expertise, much as the institutional authority of subaltern studies' 'revelations' about its Other are left unquestioned. Furthermore such accounts can often draw on notions of authenticity to support their politics: "this is what things were like and should be like if tourism, colonialism, food production etc. had not taken place". Such notions of 'authenticity' have already been dealt with in Chapter 2, but are further criticised by Cook and Crang. Secondly, such accounts ignore the investments made by consumers in consumer experiences, negating the very real pleasures which are gained through consuming the Other, and can result in a puritanical correctness from those attempting to intervene politically in consumer culture. Such political strategies do not pay attention to the ways in which consumers listen to, and use knowledge. For example, accounts which claim to 'thicken and deepen' knowledge about Others are already part and parcel of a marketing strategy which appeals to a limited niche market, and has resulted in the socially and sectorally differentiated take-up of products such as

'ethical' goods for use by consumers in their social and cultural differentiations and identifications (Cook and Crang 1996).

Cook and Crang outline an alternative to 'deepening and thickening' consumer knowledges. They suggest that consumer politics should involve "working on the surfaces of commodities", and quote Michael Taussig's call to:

"...neither resist nor admonish the fetish qualities of modern culture, but rather acknowledge, even submit to their fetish powers, and attempt to channel them in revolutionary directions. Get with it! Get in touch with the fetish!" (Taussig 1992:122, quoted Cook and Crang 1996:147)

Cook and Crang provide an example in the form of Amos Gitai's film *Ananas*, about the production of pineapples, which sets up a montage of shots with overlapping commentaries from the various different geographical points in the production process. Although the film does try to tell something more about consumer products, it includes the pleasures the product brings to consumers. But, more importantly for Cook and Crang, it does not claim that it is authoritatively presenting 'the truth' about consumer goods, as its aesthetics break with the authoritative style of documentary film. For Cook and Crang, the main point about such interventions in consumer culture is:

"...they mean paying less attention to deepening or thickening surfaces, and more to thinking about their productivities, what they are used for. The issue becomes not, then, the authenticity or accuracy of commodity surfaces, but rather the spatial settings and social itineraries that are established through their usage." (Cook and Crang 1996:148)

In other words, political interventions in the sphere of consumption are to be judged on their effectiveness, on their ability to mobilise change in consumer culture within specific spatial and social contexts, rather than their claims to an 'accurate' representation of other people and places.

It is worth drawing out the implications of this argument in the arena of tourism. The possibility of a political strategy which 'reveals the truth' about tourism's impact on the people and landscapes of tourist destinations by giving voice to silenced positions is certainly a possibility, and I will return to the potential of such a project later in the section. But the following criticisms can be made of such an approach. Firstly, following Spivak's criticisms of subaltern studies, narratives which 'reveal the truth' about people and places repeat the problems of colonial discourse in assuming the right to construct an authoritative account of Others who have to be represented because they cannot represent themselves. On the one hand, Others are already involved in representing themselves through the discourses available in tourism. Many Peruvians have an interest in the continuity of the structures of translation which currently exist, whether economically because of the wages they receive, or culturally because the opportunities provided by

tourism for the articulation of their voice, for example in Raoul's proud presentation of Machu Picchu as "This is my country". At the same time, many others are involved in attempting to have their voice heard through tourism, yet are unable to take part in the structures of 'translation' which currently exist. On the other hand, some Peruvians clearly attempt to resist the 'translations' they are forced into by tourism, such as the porters on the Inca Trail. Authoritative academic representations risk silencing stories that some Peruvians wish to be heard, or intruding into stories that some Peruvians do not wish to be heard. Secondly, such interventions could well fall on deaf ears, because they fail to recognise the pleasures consumers gain from visiting places such as Peru. The cultural processes and institutions through which tourists consume 'translations' of Peru are complex, as this thesis has shown, and tourists are fully able to resist and contest the interpretations of place with which they are provided, for example through the kinds of ironic distancing used by some of the group tourists. Authoritative accounts which 'reveal the truth' about tourism risk appealing to specific socio-cultural groups, and ignoring the desires and investments placed in travel by Others. For example, Andy and Sophie's desire to enjoy Peru as a place to relax and enjoy themselves in a leisurely way (as opposed to the projects of knowledge, competence and experience of some other travellers) meant that they were often ironic about claims to 'know' Peru.

The main point, then, of political interventions in the cultures of tourist consumption is not their ability to 'unveil' Peru from behind a 'superficial' tourist representation. Instead it is to use interventions that work by 'getting with the fetish', by acknowledging and working with the pleasures and 'surpluses' of visiting Peru. The main measure of such interventions is their effectiveness. So what role can studies such as this one on the consumption of Peru play in contesting and celebrating tourism in Peru? First of all, it is worth pointing out what this thesis cannot do. In intervening in tourist consumption, the thesis cannot suggest what 'effects' interventions should have. The thesis has dealt mainly with the voices of consumers from Britain, and although these include stories which have been 'translated' from Peru, it would take other work in the field of tourism to suggest the kind of goals which interventions in tourism would have. In this sense the project is a *contribution* to tourism studies, and as such I do not want to repeat the problems I have worked through in this section by claiming to speak for Others.

Having acknowledged the limitations of this thesis, there are contributions it can make to the politics of tourism in Peru. The two main questions to ask about interventions in the consumption of Peru are: firstly, what institutions would consumers consider as legitimate in intervening in the terms of 'translation'? Secondly, what cultural 'fetishes' could these institutions work with in attempting to change consumer practices?

In answer to the first question, this thesis has identified some of the 'key actors' who are involved in 'translating' Peru to travellers. Certain institutions play a vital role in suggesting the sorts of practices, or forms of 'proper conduct' which travellers can use to consume Peru. From the argument presented in Chapter 6, it should be clear that there is no one single institution or message that can be 'sent out' to travellers. Rather, there are a number of different institutions which could provide the source of interventions in tourism. For group travellers, the travel company they travel with is an important medium of 'translation', and perhaps the guides who accompany the group are the single most important individuals within that relationship. From my experiences of the Explore group, guides are involved in a nearly continuous process of 'coaching' tourists through the practices which are appropriate to the situation. For example, Ian played a key role in ensuring that the porters on the Inca Trail were provided with (what I assume was) a relatively large tip at the end of the trek.

For independent travellers, the sources of intervention are perhaps more diverse. Institutions such as guide books have a role to play in informing the practices of travel. So to do travel programmes in the media, such as 'The Big Trip' or 'The Rough Guide', or travel books, or travel fairs. Independent clubs such as the South American Explorers Club or the Alpine Club are relatively important in the construction of travel practices. Given the different ways of consuming Peru by independent travellers, different institutions clearly have their own agendas in the politics of 'translation'. The 'coaching' provided by climbing clubs is very different from that provided by the Rough Guide, for example. But, perhaps more important for independent travellers is the 'coaching' provided by friendship groups in their constructions of travel culture. Stories about travel provide one of the main ways in which travel practices are authorised discursively, and expertise is circulated about the best ways to 'translate' Peru.

To discuss the second question about the cultural 'fetishes' used, I have described the 'fetishisations' of place which are at play in tourist consumption, and which could therefore be used in exploring the possibilities of intervention in travel consumption. Here, I would like briefly to explore the possibilities raised by one particular way of consuming Peru. Travelling to Peru is, for many travellers, all about thickening their knowledge of Peru as a place. The knowledge they desire, and the means they use to 'translate' expertise about Peru, work in diverse ways through a variety of institutions, but nevertheless a great deal of the pleasure of visiting Peru is based in knowing more about the country. One way of legitimating interventions in travel practices is to claim a depth of knowledge about Peru. For example the Peruvian guide who took the Explore group to Lake Titicaca suggested that we should take gifts of oranges rather than money to the Uros Islands, using her identity as a local Peruvian to back up her claim to know what was best for the islanders. Clearly, other voices could be heard in this situation

which might make claims to a more 'authentic' relationship with the Uros Indians, and would could therefore 'coach' tourist practices in different ways. What I am suggesting is that, although Cook and Crang are right to point to the dangers of using discourses of authenticity, it is certainly a strategy which can be used by 'local' people in attempting to change tourist practices.

The fetish amongst tourists to 'know places better' can also be used in ways to intervene in the politics of tourism in ways which do not draw upon authenticity. Tourist practices are often based on the desire to perform a relationship to Peru which symbolises a knowingness on the part of the visitor. One manifestation of this is that amongst some travellers (and to me one of the most troubling aspects of travel in Peru), is that spending as little money as possible is seen as a way of constructing a 'knowledgeable' relationship with Peru. This works in several ways. It can be used to mark the traveller off from 'tourists', who are 'conned' into spending as much money as possible. It can be taken as a sign that the traveller is experiencing the 'real' Peru. It can be taken as a sign of being 'au fait' with Peruvian culture. It can be taken as a practice which 'preserves' Peru from the ravages of modernity by making sure it does not get rich. In other words, cutting down on the amount of money spent can often be taken as both a practice which provides, and a sign of, a deeper and fuller understanding of Peru. Such practices are 'coached' through, for example, guide books and guides which recommend that visitors drive a hard bargain as they visit local markets, because "that's the way the locals do it". Independent travellers in particular often 'coach' each other on the best ways to save money, and there were times in Cusco when travellers complained to shopkeepers about the prices of their goods.

The aim of interventions in consumer culture in this context may be to 're-enchant' other relationships with Peru, where handing over money is taken as a sign of 'knowing' Peru. For example, for Molly, one of the points of travelling is to spend her money in 'poor countries'. At one point she describes this in imperialistic and racist terms, saying that she feels she should spend her money abroad otherwise 'poor countries' will have to earn money from 'the Japanese'. Thus for Molly, there is pleasure to be had in spending money in the places she visits. She describes, for example, bargaining in the market, paying a low price, and then asking if she can photograph the stallholder and stall, for which she then pays. This strategy allows her the pleasure of bargaining, but also offering a fair and proper price considering the income differential between her and the stall-owner. The fact that I feel able to support Molly, despite the undoubtedly imperialistic intentions of her actions, points to the ambiguities that might be involved in developing a politics of tourism which is not based in claims to academic authority. The point of this story is not to suggest that all travellers should behave like Molly, but to

suggest that there is satisfaction to be found in relationships with places like Peru that involves spending money.

In suggesting these interventions in travel practices, both in terms of their content and the institutions from which they emerge, there are problems of whom they might seek to empower. Molly's actions empower the stallholder as opposed to other people who may wish for a stake in the tourist industry but cannot afford to run a market stall. As I suggested earlier, the 'effects' which these interventions might achieve have to be left open by this thesis. The point to make, however, is that consumer studies provide the basis for thinking about how interventions might use these fetishisations and institutions to 're-enchant' different relationships between travellers and the places they visit. It is in the 'myriad activities' that political interventions might work, and where the possibility for changes in tourism resides. Having looked at the possibilities of using consumption studies in the politics of tourism, the last section of this thesis takes a wider view on what might be achieved through tourism studies, particularly through its intersection with cultural geography.

8.4 Tourism Studies, Geography and Travel as 'Translation'

Having suggested the role of my project in the politics of tourism, in this final section I want to expand the terms of the discussion to consider tourism studies more widely. In this thesis, I have argued that the processes and politics of 'translation' are central to considerations of tourism as a cultural and economic formation, and I have explored some of the investments placed by British travellers in the formations which enable them to visit Peru. In conclusion, I point to the wider implications of this argument for thinking about tourism more generally.

There are a number of points to develop concerning the processes of 'translation' which are at play in the formations of tourism and travel. Firstly it is worth exploring issues of *who* has a stake in the institutions and practices of travel, and who is excluded from the 'surpluses' which these institutions and practices create. In the field of tourism, a field which encompasses not only cultural but economic processes, such questions are about who has the power over the means of 'translation', and what 'surpluses' they are able to produce through the use of this power. This means thinking about the variety of 'surpluses' which are produced through tourism and travel. Controlling 'translation' means gaining psychological surpluses in the form of strength in identity, cultural surpluses in the form of stories about group identities, and economic surpluses in the sense of gaining resources and profit for the work of 'translation' (Crang 1994a). Struggles over the nature and form of cultural 'translation', and the distribution of the surpluses they generate, lie at the heart of the politics of tourism.

Clearly there are different surpluses created for different participants in the cultures of tourism. New work on the borders between cultural and economic geography points the way towards an approach which refuses to position dogmatically culture or economy as prior to each other, as in base-superstructure models or in accounts of the economic as culturally embedded (Crang forthcoming, Lee and Wills forthcoming, Thrift and Olds 1996). Rather, as Lash and Urry (1994) argue, culture is that which is circulated through the medium of economic institutions and mechanisms, and is the very 'stuff' out of which economic surpluses are made. Tourism, as a precursor to and part of a rapidly expanding service sector, is a prime example of an 'economy of signs', where cultural symbols and experiences are circulated for profit. Working through the ways in which the 'translation' of difference through tourism, with all the social and cultural implications that has, is 'entangled' in the increasingly globalised circulation of capital is an important task of tourism studies (see Britton 1991, Oakes 1993).

A focus on the cultural-economies of 'translation' at play in global tourist formations means paying attention to the heterogeneous roles tourism and travel in the construction spaces and places. It means thinking about different sectors in tourist systems of provisions, including brochures, travel agencies, the hospitality industry, transportation, guides, the media and travel literatures. These all play a role in the practices of 'translation' used by travellers and tourists, and so are involved in contemporary socio-economic and cultural formations. It also means paying attention to the diversity of roles tourism plays in constituting social relations across time and space. Far from homogenising space, we need to think about the ways in which tourism produces, uses and consumes spatial difference. In different places, different people have different investments in the 'translations' enabled by tourism.

Probably the most useful recent work in dealing with these issues is Michael Watt's attempts to deal with the local politics of globalised 'multiple modernities'. Pred and Watts' (1992) introduction to *Reworking Modernity* suggest that an understanding of the contemporary world demands an understanding of the dialogue between global connections and local circumstances. But perhaps more pertinently, Pred and Watt's geographical imagination crosses the boundaries between the economic, the cultural and the social. Pred and Watts insist that any understanding of the contemporary world must understand the dialogic relationship between capitalism's searches for profit and the constitution of people, places and social structures within given localities (1996:7). The structure of global economies is always mediated through the circulation of signs. There are two consequences of this argument. Firstly, Pred and Watts state the need for ethnographic understandings of the local's interconnections with the global:

"If the local is to be theorised, then this should be undertaken in such a way that the external determinants are articulated with internal agency, with locally shared knowledges and practices, with shared but socially differentiated meanings and experiences". (Pred and Watts 1992:15)

In particular, it means examining the ways in which global connections structure the ability of individuals to produce themselves as subjects, and articulate voices and visions for the future, what Pred and Watts call "the structured capacity of subjects" (1996:17). They go on to argue that:

"a central question seems to be how spatial meanings are worked, reworked, and fought over under these 'postrmodern' [i.e. contemporary] conditions, how space is 'reterritorialised', and what sorts of identities and differences are produced with what sorts of cultural, symbolic and other materials" (Pred and Watts 1996:18).

It seems to me that it is exactly this direction which tourism studies within geography could take. Tourism is part of a global economy, in which interconnections between places structure the ability of individuals within locations to produce themselves as subjects, earn a 'livelihood' (in the broadest sense of the world), struggle over the meanings which are given to practices and places. Such a project demands the use of ethnographic techniques which can cope with the circulation of meaning and signs, as well as other approaches which can deal with the circulation of money.

To give an example of the contribution tourism studies can make to this mapping of the world's multiple modernities, one of the best pieces of work in recent years has been Cynthia Cone's (1995) short article 'Crafting Selves'. Cone explores the lives of two Mayan women who produce craft goods for the tourist market. She outlines in particular their ambiguous relationship with Mayan culture and their Mayan families, and the role they play as both 'translators' of Mayan ethnicity, and as participants in a global economy. The two women work through the contradictions of tourism in diverse ways, 'crafting' selves for themselves out of the resources, skills, talents and time that they have. Cone offers small details, talking to the women about issues such as the clothes they wear to work, the voices they include in the stories they tell their customers, the ways in which they present themselves to others:

"Through their encounters with ethnic tourists, they have reshaped their relationships, their crafts, and their perceptions of themselves and how others perceive them. They have transformed the subordinate positions in the patron-client relationship that characterised the relations of Indians to Others..." (Cone 1995:315)

It is precisely through the contributions of this sort of qualitative understanding of tourism and tourists that tourism studies can contribute to a project of understanding and intervening in 'global modernities'. Firstly, tourism studies can play a part through its explorations of investments in tourism consumption by outlining the institutions and

cultural processes which could be used to intervene in tourism. Secondly, tourism studies can draw on work on production processes to explore the inclusive and exclusive nature of 'translation'. Thirdly, tourism studies can work with institutions in the arena of tourism, exploring the interventions a variety of institutions can make in the distribution of surpluses produced by the production and consumption of travel. It is by placing the circulation of culture within tourism at both the local and global level that I believe tourism studies may fulfil its potential to contribute towards an understanding of the role of tourism in the contemporary world. Cone's work on tourist production, I feel, brings the thesis to a close in that my own qualitative work on tourist consumption forms a mirror image to hers within the 'circuit of culture'.

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Appendix 1

Resources on tourism in Peru

Because of the lack of writing in English and available in Britain on tourism in Peru (apart from guide books), I have compiled a brief list of resources on the subject. The publications below are available in the libraries of the *Centro de Formación en Turismo*, Baranco, Lima, and the *Universidad San Martín de Porres*, Lima. There is also a website, run by PromPeru, which contains some information on the topic.

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<http://161.132.89.11/PROMPERU/TURISMO/index-i.htm>

✱

Appendix 2

Correspondence with Participants

This appendix contains an example of (i) the 'tag questionnaire' used to recruit participants, and (ii) the interview proforma which was sent to participants a few days before their interview (see Chapter 4 for further details of their use):



Department of Geography
University College London
26 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AP
Tel: 071-387-7050
Fax: 071-380-7565

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am running a research project, in conjunction with *South America Experience*, on British tourism in Latin America. This questionnaire is to ask you about your experiences on holiday.

The questionnaire takes only approximately five minutes to complete. I would be grateful if you could return it to me within a fortnight using the pre-paid envelope.

Luke Desforges.

How to complete this questionnaire

To indicate your answer to each question please
either: ✓ the box or boxes as appropriate
or: write your answer in the space provided.
Thank you.



Survey of Recent Visitors to Latin America

DETAILS OF BOOKING INFORMATION

- Q1. How many people were included on your *South America Experience* booking form? ____ people.
- Q2. What is your relationship to these people? Please tick the appropriate boxes.
- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Spouse/Partner | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Friend | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Close Family Member eg parent, brother | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please state) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- Q3. How many days did you spend on tour in total? ____ days.
- Q4. During your tour, did your holiday operator organise any excursions where you formed part of a larger group? ie you were with people not included on your personal booking form.
- If yes how many days? Yes ☐ ____ days.
No ☐

DETAILS OF ITINERARY

- Q5. Where did you go in Latin America? Please write in all places where you stayed for more than one night.

| City/Town/Resort | No. of Nights | City/Town/Resort | No. of Nights |
|---------------------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| eg. <i>San Jose, Costa Rica</i> | <i>3</i> | 7. _____ | ____ |
| 1. _____ | ____ | 8. _____ | ____ |
| 2. _____ | ____ | 9. _____ | ____ |
| 3. _____ | ____ | 10. _____ | ____ |
| 4. _____ | ____ | 11. _____ | ____ |
| 5. _____ | ____ | 12. _____ | ____ |
| 6. _____ | ____ | 13. _____ | ____ |

DETAILS OF ACTIVITIES

- Q.6 What activities did you do while you were on holiday? Please tick the appropriate boxes for the activities you did, and write the number of days on which you did this activity.
- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------------|
| Visited Nature Reserve eg <i>rainforest</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ____ day(s) |
| Outdoor Adventure eg <i>Rafting, trekking</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ____ day(s) |
| Viewed Natural Landscape Feature eg <i>waterfall, volcano</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ____ day(s) |
| Toured city eg <i>viewing architecture, culture</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ____ day(s) |
| Beach/Leisure Activity eg <i>snorkelling, windsurfing</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ____ day(s) |
| Visited indigenous culture interest eg <i>market</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ____ day(s) |
| Visited site of historical interest eg <i>archeological site, museum</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ____ day(s) |
| Visited Friends/Family | <input type="checkbox"/> | ____ day(s) |
| Other (Please State:-) | <input type="checkbox"/> | ____ day(s) |

Q7. Why did you decide to go on holiday in Latin America? Please indicate which factors were important to you by ticking **one box** for each feature. For example, ticking box 1 next to 'Beaches' would mean you were not interested in going to Latin America for the beaches at all, whilst ticking box 5 would mean it was the most important.

| | Not important← | | | →Highly important | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Interest in Natural Landscape <i>eg. Waterfall, volcano</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Interest in Latino Culture <i>eg. Music, literature</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Interest in speaking Spanish | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Interest in wildlife <i>eg Birdwatching</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Interest in visiting Indigenous Groups <i>eg Market</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Interest in Pre-European Culture <i>eg Mayan ruins</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Adventure activities <i>eg rafting</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Beaches | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Please state) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q8. To what extent did your holiday fulfil your expectations? For example, if you were surprised or disappointed by aspects of your holiday, please could you explain why.

This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page, leaving small margins at the top and bottom. There are approximately 20-22 visible lines. No handwriting or other markings are present on the page.

Before posting back your questionnaire, please complete the following personal details. This information is only necessary to help us look at the views of different groups of people and will be held in complete confidence.

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Q.9 Age: | Tick Box | Q.10 Sex: | Tick Box |
| Under 25 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Male | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 26-35 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Female | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 36-45 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Q.11 Do you have any children aged under 15? | |
| 46-55 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Over 55 | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |

CONT.

Q.12 Marital Status:

- Single ☐
- Married ☐
- Divorced/Widowed/Separated ☐

Q.13 What Nationality are you?

Q.14 Work Status:

- Full time(30+hours per week) ☐
- Part time(8-29hours per week) ☐
- Part time(1-7hours per week) ☐
- Unemployed/seeking work ☐
- Retired ☐
- Housework-ie no paid work ☐
- Full time student/school pupil ☐
- Other (Write in and tick) ☐

Q.15 Occupation:

If Unemployed put last occupation (if held within last 6 months) otherwise leave blank. If Retired, write 'Retired' and write in last job prior to retirement. WRITE IN UNDER HEADINGS BELOW

Industry/Type of Company

Actual job/Position

Qualifications/Degree/Apprenticeship (If any)

Number of staff responsible for (If any)

Q.16 Which City/Town/County do you live in?

Town/City:

County:

IF YOU HAVE FOUND ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS ON TRAVEL AND TOURISM IN LATIN AMERICA INTERESTING, WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO BE INTERVIEWED ABOUT YOUR TOUR?

This research project involves interviews with people who have recently visited Latin America talking about their experiences of travelling and tours abroad. As you will know, tourism has recently grown to be one of the biggest industries in the world and many countries in Latin America rely on its earnings in their programmes for economic development. Because of the potential negative affects of tourism, it has to be carefully planned, and the decisions and choices made by visitors are important to the future of many Latin Americans. Would you be interested in talking about why you chose to take a holiday in Latin America and what you thought of your holiday, in an informal interview at a time and place convenient to you? If so please could you write in your name and address below, and I will contact you by letter within three weeks.

This information is **strictly confidential** and will not be passed on to any other organisation. It will be used purely for the organisation of the Research Project.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

CITY/TOWN/VILLAGE

COUNTY

POST CODE

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. PLEASE USE THE PRE-PAID ENVELOPE TO RETURN IT TO:-

Luke Desforges
 Department of Geography
 University College London
 26, Bedford Way
 London WC1H 0AP



*Department of Geography
University College London
26 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AP
Tel: 0171-387-7050
Fax: 0171-380-7565*

Interview Schedule: British Tourism in Peru

This interview schedule is to provide you with a general idea, in advance, of the sorts of things which I would like to ask you about during the interviews. Please feel free to add anything else which you think is important about your trip. No preparation is necessary for the interview.

INTERVIEW ONE

WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO GO TO PERU?

Why did you decide to go to Peru? You might have been interested in Peru for a long time, or decided to go on the spur of the moment.

How did you plan your trip (guide books, friends, travel company)?

THE STORY OF THE HOLIDAY:

This section covers the general story of your holiday: for example, where you went, how you got there, what you did, who you went with, what it was like, and if it fulfilled your expectations. You may like to show a selection of your photos if you feel it would help in describing your trip. This section will probably take up a large section of the first interview.

PEOPLE IN PERU:

What were the people like that you met on holiday? How did the local people treat you - were they friendly or did they ever make you feel uncomfortable?

How did you get on with the other travellers and tourists?

HEALTH AND SAFETY

There can be problems involved in travelling, for example illness or robbery. Did anything happen to you on your trip which caused difficulties? How did you deal with it?

INTERVIEW TWO

WHAT DID PEOPLE THINK OF YOUR TRIP TO PERU?:

This section is to ask about what other people thought of your holiday. Have you talked to your friends, family and colleagues about the trip, and if so how have they reacted?

If a friend asked you for advice about going away to Peru, what would you tell them?

HOW DOES PERU COMPARE WITH OTHER TRIPS?

How did your travels in Peru compare to other trips you have made, in Britain, Europe or further afield? Is this the first long-haul trip you have made?

TRAVEL AND TOURISM

When you are travelling, do you think of yourself as a traveller or a tourist (or neither)? At what points do you think you were seeing the real Peru, and at what points did you think it was 'touristy'?

GOING TRAVELLING

This section is to ask you some questions about going travelling in general.

What do you think you have learnt (if anything) as result of your experiences in Peru? For example, some people say that travelling gives you confidence in yourself, or makes you more 'worldy-wise'. Is this true for you or other people you know?

FUTURE TRIPS?

Are there more places you would like to visit? If so where would you like to go?

Appendix 3

Summary of participants in in-depth interviews

Independent Travellers

Jenny, aged 22, is the youngest traveller interviewed, and at the time of interview lived was living with her parents in a small town on the south coast. Jenny completed a degree in geography, but did not manage to get a graduate job immediately. Instead she decided to go travelling with her boyfriend, Kev. Jenny worked in a nursing home for six months in order to earn money for the trip. Eight months after graduating, in March 1995, Jenny took off for Caracas, where she spent a few days before flying on to Chile. She travelled through northern Chile, into Bolivia and on to Peru, where she spent about two weeks in the Cusco area. She flew home from Quito, Ecuador, after three months in South America. Jenny saw one of my advertisements in her hostel in Cusco, and shortly after we met by chance in the South American Explorers Club, Lima, where she agreed to take part in the interviews. Jenny would like to travel some time in the future, but at the time of interview she was thinking of training to be a teacher.

Jo spent her childhood and teenage years in Australia, visiting Britain for the first time when she was eighteen. Having graduated from college in Australia, and travelled round Australia and New Zealand, she decided to move to London. She has had a variety of job as a waitress and secretary. She spent three months in South America in 1995, travelling with a friend from Buenos Aires to Tierra del Fuego, through Chile and Bolivia, and ended her trip by staying in Cusco and flying back to Britain from Lima. Jo was the only traveller I interviewed who did not visit Machu Picchu, because she had "had enough of that sort of thing" by the time she got to Cusco. I met Jo in Cusco where she approached me to offer to take part in the in-depth interviews when another traveller told her about my project. At the time of the interview, Jo was setting up a computer consultancy company with friends in London, but intended to travel again in the future.

Cathy graduated in geography and got a job as a production secretary for a documentary film-making company. She spent a month in Peru in 1994, visiting Lima, Cusco and the Manu National Park. Cathy responded to one of the 'tag questionnaires' I sent out. At the time of the interview, Cathy had been promoted to the post of research assistant, but was about to finish a contract on a film and go travelling in Central America. Her future ambitions included producing an ethnographic film of her own.

Kim, graduated from university with a degree in environmental science, and worked for a year as a research assistant in her home town of Sheffield. She then travelled to India for

a year, with her partner, Matt. When she returned home she again worked for a year before they set off to see the solar eclipse in southern Peru in October 1994. Kim then visited to Lake Titicaca and Cusco, before she went on to Bolivia and Brazil. She returned to Peru to visit Lima, and then went on to Ecuador and Colombia before flying home. I met Kim in the youth hostel in Lima, where her partner Matt agreed to an interview. When I went to interview Matt, Kim decided to take part as well. At the time of the interview, Kim, aged 27, was just about to go travelling again to Indonesia, but had decided this might be her last trip for some time.

Matt worked as a car mechanic in Sheffield before he gave up his job to travel on a veggieburger van around music festivals in Britain. Matt then spent a year in India with his partner, Kim. When they returned home, Matt (aged 31) worked as a casual mechanic, and earned enough money to go to South America in October 1994. Matt and Kim travelled around Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador and Colombia for nine months. I met Matt towards the end of his trip in the youth hostel in Lima, where he agreed to take part in the in-depth interviews. At the time of the interview, Matt had plans to set up a catering business for music festivals, but was about to go to Indonesia for a few months.

Justin, aged 30, went to Peru for two months in April and May 1995. Justin graduated as a solicitor and worked in London for several years, having travelled to America, India, Indonesia and Australia. Justin went to Peru with his partner in a period between ending one job and starting another. His interest in Peru was largely in trekking and climbing, and in May I spent five days walking with him and Emma around the Salcantay area near Cusco. Justin flew home via Venezuela, where he went scuba diving. At the time of the interview, Justin had started his new job, and was about to get married.

Sarah is a prolific traveller, having been to Israel, India, America and Australia. She graduated in accountancy and has worked in temporary jobs in London ever since. She spent nine months in South America in 1991-2, visiting Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Brazil. She spent two months in Peru, on the north coast, Lima, Cusco and Puno. Sarah contacted me having seen an advertisement for my project at the Traveller's Fair in the Business Design Centre, Islington, in January 1995. At the time of the interview she had worked for three years, and was about to give up her job to go to Central America. Sarah is aged 33.

Group Travellers

Sophie, as a member of the Explore group, was on her first long-haul trip. Her holidays generally consisted of visits to France to pursue her interests in cookery and food. But

having recently started a relationship with Andy (see below), she was persuaded to try something a bit further afield. Aged in her early thirties, Sophie was one of the youngest members of the group, and formed a sub-group on the trip with a young American couple and various other younger travellers. She rarely spoke to other members of the group. Sophie works as an interior designer in the East End of London.

Andy had been to many long-haul destinations before his trip to Peru. Andy had spent a great deal of time and energy setting up a company which eventually terminated, and decided that he would spend more of his time travelling. Now in his late-thirties, has set up a furniture making enterprise in London, and has been on many adventure trips with his business partner. These include diving in Belize and 'rat-jumping' (a form of bungee jumping) in Australia. He travelled to Peru as part of the Explore group with his partner, Sophie.

Jon is an avid Explore traveller, having been on numerous trips to south and south-east Asia over the last five years. His first Explore trip was something of a revelation after he had previously hitch-hiked in Europe as a student, and been on beach and sailing holidays in the Mediterranean. In his late thirties, Jon works in advertising, and occasionally goes abroad as part of his job. Jon was one of many on the Explore trip who travelled on their own. He was a popular member of the group, but was not closely involved in any particular sub-group, and indeed spent a great deal of time taking photographs which he later used to produce a slide show at the Explore reunion.

Robert was one of the older members of the Explore group. He had travelled widely in his youth, having lived and worked in East Africa, New Zealand and Fiji, where he was a keen mountaineer. Robert returned to England with his family in his early thirties, and has worked his way up to be a senior research scientist at a hospital in the south-east. Robert had not travelled a great deal since he got divorced, then remarried and cared for his wife during a period of illness. Going on the Explore trip to Peru was an important step towards recovering something of the spirit of adventure he felt from his youth. He hoped to go on more trips before he retired. Robert volunteered to be interviewed about the trip during the course of the Inca Trail.

Molly was probably the senior member of the Explore group, and was on holiday in Peru with her husband Brian. Having spent most of her life working as a mother, housewife and part-time gardener, Molly started travelling when her husband retired from the police force. At the time of the trip Molly had been to Nepal twice, generally on trekking holidays in the Himalayas. Molly was part of the older sub-group of travellers on the trip, although she and Brian spent some time on their own apart from the other Explorers.

Bespoke Travellers

Linda grew up in New Zealand which she left in her early twenties, having graduated from university, to take up a position as a teacher on the Cook Islands in the South Pacific. After three years Linda travelled round America, and then became a teacher in London. She later got married and moved to Stirling where she now works as a geography teacher. She travels frequently, partly because she owned a house in Spain and partly because she visits her family in New Zealand. She has enjoyed many stopover holidays in south-east Asia, and goes skiing in Colorado. Travelling to South America was her first bespoke trip, and she visited Rio de Janeiro, Manaus, Cusco, Machu Picchu, Puno, La Paz and Buenos Aires before she flew on to New Zealand. She agreed to be interviewed having returned a 'tag questionnaire'. Linda has set up a travel club at school and is planning to take some of her colleagues to Peru in the near future.

Mr Potter lives near Wigan in Lancashire, and has spent most of his life working in a construction company. His work has meant he has visited some sixty countries, and indeed he lived in Nigeria during the early part of his career. He recently retired from this job, having passed his sixtieth birthday, and now works part-time as a consultant. His trip to South America started in Mexico at a conference, before he and his wife went to Peru because it was 'half way' between Mexico and some family relatives Mr Potter wanted to visit in Argentina. In Peru Mr Potter went to Cusco, Machu Picchu and Puno. His trip lasted some two weeks, and was organised through South American Experience, a small company based in London. He agreed to be interviewed after he returned a 'tag questionnaire'. Mr Potter hopes to retire abroad to South Africa, where one of his two children now lives.